National Committee

MONUMENTS AND SITES SOUTH AFRICA



IICOMOS

CONSEJO INTERNACIONAL DE LOS MONUMENTOS Y SITIOS CONSEIL INTERNATIONAL DES MONUMENTS ET DES SITES INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON MONUMENTS AND SITES

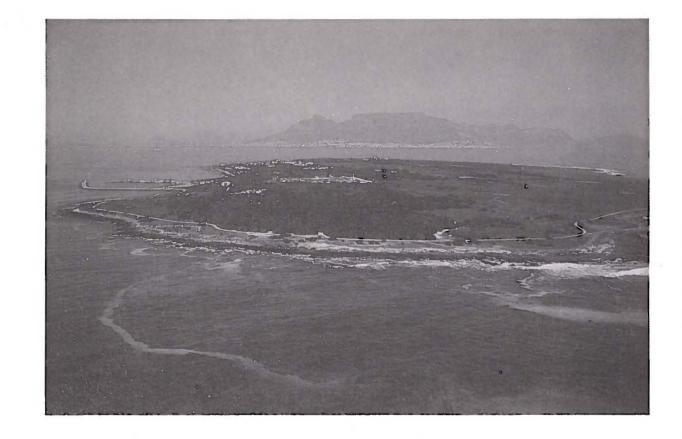
MONUMENTS AND SITES SOUTH AFRICA

National Committee 11th General Assembly





Consejo Internacional de los Monumentos y Sitios Conseil International des Monuments et des Sites International Council on Monuments and Sites



This is one of a new series of ICOMOS Scientific Publications released on the occasion of its 11th General Assembly in Sofia, Bulgaria, 5-10 October 1996, sponsored by the Central Cultural Fund and Sri Lanka National Committee of ICOMOS

The other volumes in the series are: • Australia • Bolivia

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○ Hungary ○ India ○ Israel

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○ Sri Lanka ○ Zimbabwe

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Sri Lanka ICOMOS Publications Committee: Chairman: Roland Silva Lakshman Alwis, H.D.S. Hettipathirana Sita Pieris, P. L. Prematilleke Nimal de Silva, H.J. Wahalawatta Gamini Wijesuriya

Editor-in-Chief: Sita Pieris Project Coordinator: Hiroshi Rathnaweera French Translations: Catherine Steinbach Typesetting: ICOMOS South Africa, Institute of Computer Technology, Alliance Francais, State Printing Corporation

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Central Cultural Fund, 212/1, Bauddhaloka Mawatha, Colombo 7. Sri Lanka, Telefax 94-1-500731

Cover and Frontispiece: Robben Island (foreground) and Table Mountain (background).

Foreword

Monuments and Sites of Mankind are but the memory of Man. These stand testimony to the life and style of the people through many generations. Sri Lanka is no exception to this characteristic of human nature, as our Monuments and Sites record a continuous history of a people from the 5th Century B.C. to the present day. We are proud that six of our sites have qualified to be among the three hundred and thirty cultural items listed by UNESCO to be World Heritage Monuments.

As chairperson of the Central Cultural Fund which is looking after such a rich heritage of world stature, we are proud to note that the Central Cultural Fund has been able to sponsor the publication of 20 volumes covering the Monuments and Sites of 20 different countries in the five continents of the globe. We believe that by the dissemination of the knowledge concerning the heritage of different peoples, the world will be richer in sharing such experiences that have so far been confined to each nation.

We take this opportunity to congratulate the 6,000 or more members of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) for their dedicated service to the world and for providing professional guidance to each nation to safeguard their monumental heritage for the sake of generations to come. We also wish the 84 Member States of ICOMOS, every success in their deliberations at the 11th General Assembly of ICOMOS in Sofia, Bulgaria to be held later this year, for which occasion these volumes are being published.

Sironah Deand en ai Re

Prime Minister's Office, Sir Ernest de Silva Mawatha, Colombo 3, Sri Lanka. Sirimavo Dias Bandaranaike Prime Minister Sri Lanka

17th April, 1996

Avant-propos

Les Monuments et les Sites historiques ont représenté, au cours de l'histoire de l'humanité, la mémoire de l'homme. Ils témoignent de l'existence et du style de vie des peuples à travers les générations. Le Sri Lanka ne fait pas exception à cette caractéristique du genre humain puisque nos monuments et nos sites racontent l'histoire de notre peuple depuis le 5ème siècle av J.-C. jusqu'à nos jours. Nous sommes fiers que 6 de nos sites aient été sélectionnés parmi les 330 articles culturels listés par l'UNESCO comme Monuments du Patrimoine mondial.

En tant que Président du Central Cultural Fund ayant à coeur l'intérêt d'un tel héritage d'importance mondiale, je suis heureuse de savoir qu'il a été possible de patronner la publication de 20 volumes se rapportant aux Monuments et aux Sites de 20 pays différents des 5 continents du globe. Je suis convaincue que c'est grâce à la diffusion des connaissances concernant les héritages culturels des différents peuples que le monde pourra s'enrichir du partage de telles expériences jusqu'alors confinées à chaque pays.

Je saisis cette opportunité pour féliciter les quelque 6 000 membres du Comité International des Monuments et des Sites (ICOMOS) pour leur service dévoué au monde et pour l'assistance professionnelle apportée à chaque nation en vue de la sauvegarde de leurs monuments dans l'intérêt des générations à venir. Je souhaite également aux 84 états membres d'ICOMOS tous les succès dans leurs délibérations lors de la 11ème Assemblée Générale d'ICOMOS à Sofia, Bulgarie, qui se déroulera à la fin de cette année et à l'occasion de laquelle ces livres ont été publiés.

Preface

Although ICOMOS had its birth in Europe over thirty years ago, it is only now that it has spread to the ends of Africa, America and Asia/Oceania. It has now a membership in 84 countries, and more nations are fast appreciating the professional value of this International Body.

The steadfast effort of ICOMOS is to see that the highest principles of conservation are applied to the Monuments and Sites of the World. It is precisely for this reason that ICOMOS has been able to interest twenty countries in the five continents of the world to record their efforts so that the rest of the world could share their rich experience in the science of conservation.

The organizers of the twenty publications take this opportunity to thank the Editors of these volumes for giving generously of their time and for collaborating in this major exchange of knowledge.

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Sirimavo Dias Bandaranaike Premier Ministre Sri Lanka

Bureau du Premier Ministre, Sir Ernest de Silva Mawatha, Colombo 3, Sri Lanka

17 avril 1996

Prof. Lakshman Alwis President ICOMOS, Sri Lanka Ms. Sita Pieris Editor-in-Chief ICOMOS, Sri Lanka Dr. Roland Silva President ICOMOS

Colombo, 17 April 1996

Préface

Bien qu'ICOMOS soit né en Europe il y a un peu plus de 30 ans, c'est seulement maintenant que son action a pu s'étendre aux frontières de l'Afrique, de l'Amérique et de l'Asie/Océanie. Il possède aujourd'hui 84 pays membres et un nombre rapidement croissant de nations rendent hommage à la valeur professionnelle de ce corps international.

Le constant effort soutenu par ICOMOS est celui de veiller au respect des grands principes de conservation des Monuments et des Sites historiques mondiaux. C'est pour cette raison précise qu'ICOMOS a su intéresser 20 pays des 5 continents du globe à prendre notes de leurs efforts pour que le reste du monde puisse partager leurs riches expériences dans le domaine de la science de la conservation.

Les organisateurs des 20 publications saisissent cette opportunité pour remercier les éditeurs des 20 volumes qui ont si généreusement donné de leur temps pour cet échange majeur de connaissances.

Message

The story of conservation is as old as the civilization of the human race. If ICOMOS has in recent years collated ideologies and codified precepts, it is the research and experiences of man that they have sensitively brought together.

The ancient chronicles of Sri Lanka like the Dipavamsa and the Mahawamsa as well as technical texts like Manjusri's Vastuvidya Sastra are attempts to record unending tales of scientific experience that have enriched the sum and substance of its human tradition. The data of unwritten experience is yet another source that the professionals of today should attempt to glean from traditional craftsman and village elders. These researches would extend from city planning to monastic layouts, to monuments and interiors, to furniture and even to items of regal wear as crowns and the setting of the gems upon such jewellery. These texts and traditions are valuable not only for creation but also for the conservation and safeguarding of their quality through time.

I wish the work of the world body in the conservation of Monuments and Sites every success and congratulate them for this attempt to collate such information from the different ends of the earth.

Prof. Lakshman Alwis Président ICOMOS, Sri Lanka

Mme Sita Pieris Rédacteur en chef ICOMOS, Sri Lanka

Dr. Roland Silva Président ICOMOS

Ministry of Cultural and Religious Affairs, Sethsiripaya, Battaramulla, Sri Lanka.

3rd May 1996

anseman Tanpelurdy

Lakshman Jayakody Minister of Cultural and Religious Affairs,

Message

Les origines de la conservation sont aussi anciennes que celles de la civilisation humaine. ICOMOS a depuis de récentes années regroupé des théories et codifié des règles de conduite permettant ainsi une approche intelligente des recherches sur l'homme et de ses expériences.

Les anciennes chroniques du Sri Lanka comme celles de Dipavamsa et Mahavamsa ainsi que les textes techniques comme le Vastuvidya Sastra de Manjusri sont des tentatives de récits scientifiques impérissables qui ont enrichi l'ensemble et l'essence même des traditions humaines du pays. Les faits provenant d'histoires qui n'ont pas été écrites forment une autre source d'information que les professionnels d'aujourd'hui devraient essayer de recueillir auprès des artisans traditionnels et des anciens du village. Les recherches s'étendent des plans de villes aux conceptions monastiques, des monuments et intérieurs au mobilier et même aux accessoires vestimentaires comme les couronnes et la disposition des pierres précieuses les ornant. Ces textes et ces traditions sont de grande valeur non seulement pour notre histoire mais aussi pour la conservation et la protection de leurs qualités à travers le temps.

Je tiens à souhaiter aux membres du corps mondial de la conservation des Monuments et des Sites tous les succès dans leurs travaux et je tiens également à les féliciter pour leur effort de collection d'informations en provenance des quatre coins du monde.

anseman Janplurdy

Lakshman Jayakody Ministre des Affaires Culturelles et Religieuses, Sri Lanka

ICOMOS National Committee -South Africa

The National Monuments Council of South Africa has welcomed the opportunity offered by Dr Roland Silva to contribute to this series on Monuments and Sites and we congratulate him on his vision in conceptualising the idea and making it happen. We have probably not done full justice to the subject in the time available, but we have done our best to present an overview of the current state of heritage conservation management with examples of conservation practice at a few of South Africa's special places. Sincere thanks are due to all those who helped to provide information and illustrations at short notice.

Featured on the cover and frontispiece is a photograph by Zelda Wahl that symbolises some of the elements of South African heritage that are being negotiated for peace and equity in the 1990s. In the foreground is Robben Island that has been used as a prison and place of isolation for more than three hundred years. It was here that President Nelson Mandela, many of his contemporaries, and other leaders in the past, were kept as political prisoners. The island was declared a national monument in 1996. When the prison is closed at the end of the year it will probably be used as an educational centre as part of the Gateway Project. In the background is Table Mountain rising above the city of Cape Town. The mountain was declared a national monument in 1957 because of its symbolic value to both the indigenous Khoikhoi and to immigrant Europeans who first settled there in 1652. Together, as cultural landscapes and historical sites, the two monuments merge the polarised views and attitudes of South Africans of the past and look ahead to the next millennium. Significantly, both Table Mountain and Robben Island will be proposed for World Heritage status when South Africa becomes a signatory to the World Heritage Convention.

> Janette Deacon President ICOMOS National Committee

Cape Town, July 1996

Ministère des Affaires Culturelles et Religieuses Sethsiripaya, Battaramulla Sri Lanka

3 mai 1996

Comité National d' ICOMOS - Afrique du Sud

Le Conseil National des Monuments d'Afrique du Sud a accueilli chaleureusement l' opportunité offerte par Dr. Roland Silva de contribuer à cette série sur les Monuments et les Sites et nous le félicitons d'avoir perçu la conception d'une telle idée et de lui avoir donné le jour. Il est possible que nous n'ayons pas pu rendre entière justice à ce sujet dans le temps qui nous a été imparti, mais nous avons fait de notre mieux pour présenter une vue globale de l'état actuel de la gestion de la conservation du patrimoine avec des exemples pratiques de conservation au niveau de quelques sites très particuliers d' Afrique du Sud. Des remerciements sincères sont à rendre à tous ceux qui ont aidé à regrouper informations et illustrations en un temps si bref.

Illustrant la couverture et le frontispice du livre est une photographie par Zelda Wahl symbolisant certains éléments de l'héritage Sud-africain qui ont été négociés pour la paix et la justice dans les années 90. Au premier plan, se trouve Robben Island qui a servit de prison et de lieu d'isolement pendant plus de 300 ans. C' est ici que le Président Nelson Mandela, un grand nombre de ces contemporains, et d' autres leaders du passé, ont été gardés en tant que prisonniers politiques. L'île a été déclarée monument national en 1996. Après sa fermeture à la fin de cette année, sa fonction sera certainement celle de centre éducationnel dans le cadre du projet Gateway. A l'arrière plan, se trouve Table Mountain se dressant au dessus de la ville de Cape Town. La montagne a été déclarée monument national en 1957 en raison de sa valeur symbolique pour les indigènes Khoikhoi et pour les immigrants Européens qui ont été les premiers à s' installer dans ce pays en 1652. Ensemble, en tant que paysages culturels et sites historiques, les deux monuments regroupent les idées de focus et les attitudes des Sud-africains du passé, et se tournent vers le prochain millénaire. Il reste à noter que Table Mountain et Robben Island seront proposées pour l'obtention du statut de Patrimoine Mondial au moment où l'Afrique du Sud deviendra signataire de la Convention sur le Patrimoine Mondial.

Janette Deacon,

Présidente, ICOMOS Comité National d'Afrique du Sud

Cape Town, Juillet 1996.

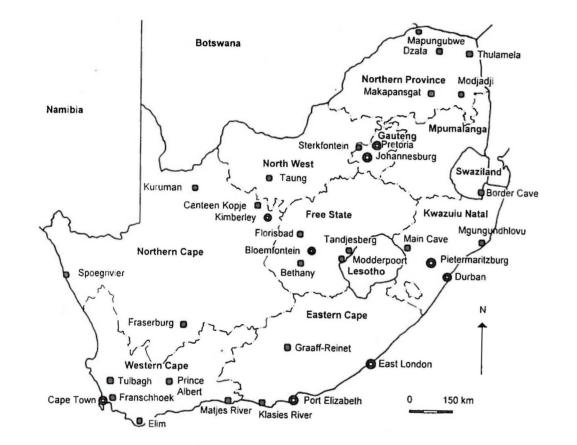
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Introduction and Historical Background to the Conservation of Monuments and Sites in South Africa

Janette Deacon and Penny Pistorius

Since May 1994 when South Africa's Government of National Unity was elected, welcome changes have been made in the field of heritage management and conservation in South Africa. Our vision is to create and promote a new awareness, understanding and appreciation of the rich and varied natural and cultural heritage of our country. This book describes the ways in which South Africans are addressing the conservation of monuments and sites as part of a wider programme of promotion of our intangible as well as our tangible cultural heritage.

The protection and conservation of monuments and sites of significance in South Africa is the work of the National Monuments Council (NMC), a statutory body established in terms of the National Monuments Act. The object of the Council, as set out in the Act, is "to preserve and protect the historical and cultural heritage, to encourage and to promote the preservation and protection of that heritage, and to co-ordinate all activities in connection with monuments and cultural treasures in order that monuments and cultural treasures will be retained as tokens of the past and may serve as an

inspiration for the future."

As a governmental organisation, the NMC is funded through the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology for salaries and running expenses, but works in close collaboration with many other organisations, both governmental and non-governmental at local, provincial and national level. These organisations assist in the identification, restoration, conservation and promotion of sites of significance and contribute greatly to the team spirit that is needed if we are to make our vision a reality.

While higher government subsidies are unlikely to be available in the near future, funding for special projects especially those that broaden the range of sites worthy of conservation and redress the imbalances of the past through the reconstruction and development programme - is likely to be more accessible. New policies have been developed through a process of public consultation. In October 1994, the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology appointed an Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG) consisting of 32 members. Public meetings were held in all provinces and written submissions were received from a wide variety of individuals and

interest groups. The final report of ACTAG was presented to the Minister at the end of July 1995. Proposals for the NMC were included in the Heritage chapter of this report. These proposals were subsequently distilled into a Draft White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage which was launched in May 1996. The document is open for public comment until the middle of July and will then be revised and presented to Parliament for ratification later in the year.

The Draft White Paper proposes the retention of a national body that will continue to co-ordinate the work currently done by the NMC, but which will also reassess the needs of the country to provide a cultural heritage management strategy that is widely negotiated. The purpose is not only to broaden our base to include a range of heritage resources that were largely ignored during the apartheid era, but also to reflect on past mistakes, identify what is needed and confront the problems. It is an opportunity to develop a transformation strategy to position our national heritage for the next millennium.

One of the fields that will receive special support is what the Draft White Paper refers to as 'living heritage'. The Ministry of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology intends to establish a national initiative to facilitate the development of a structure and environment in which living heritage projects can be initiated by communities themselves.¹ The NMC will therefore be closely involved in encouraging awareness of the need for conservation of monuments and sites of special significance.

It is becoming increasingly clear that assessment of the significance of sites to be protected should be integrated into physical planning at local and provincial level as the new Constitution lists cultural matters as one of the competences that can be taken over by the nine new provinces. Provincial governments will probably apply to a greater or lesser degree for the functions of the NMC's regional offices to be devolved to them over the next few years. The Draft White Paper also makes provision for a consultative forum enabling the public to participate in the re-writing of the National Monuments Act to reflect these changes and to give new vigour and vision to cultural conservation. The Forum will probably present a draft bill to the Minister on Heritage Day, 24 September 1996, and the new legislation will hopefully be promulgated in 1997.

In this chapter we review the history of the NMC, we outline the way in which it is structured, we describe briefly the responsibilities of the NMC towards cultural heritage management, and we summarise the ways in which the NMC collaborates with other organisations. In Chapters 2, 3 and 4 the current legislation and the changes envisaged for the new legislation are discussed and a summary is given of the forms of protection currently offered. Chapter 5 describes the first stage of cultural heritage management which involves identification of resources and the methods of documentation currently used by the

NMC.

The main body of the book from Chapter 6 onwards is structured around conservation practice. It begins with a chapter on policies currently used by the NMC and the following chapters illustrate conservation practice through a series of recent case studies. They start with the oldest examples of heritage resources from the natural environment and the geological, archaeological and palaeontological record that are often neglected because they cannot be used in the same way as buildings that are lived in. Rock art deserves special mention here because of both its vulnerability and its priceless value.

The colonial heritage is represented by only a few of the many projects with which the NMC and other conservation bodies have been involved. The sites are at sea and on land and the survey of wrecks around Robben Island emphasises the need to conserve both. The oldest colonial structure still in use is the Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town that has been the focus of a restoration and conservation programme over the last 25 years and has been guided by both historical and archaeological research. The water-mills illustrate one side of the colonial presence, while the towns of Bethanie and Graaff-Reinet, and the Urban Conservation Areas in Cape Town, illustrate another. All show the benefits of planning for heritage management at local level. The care of war graves has been a long term commitment and continues to provide challenges.

The last three case studies illustrate

the enthusiasm with which new perspectives of heritage have been incorporated into the old and the success of projects such as the Solomon Plaatje Education Trust, the search for the grave of Enoch Sontonga and the proposals for the future use of Robben Island.

The final chapter reviews heritage management in the new South Africa and the ways in which our resources are being interpreted.

History of the NMC

By the end of the nineteenth century the increasing impact of industrial development was beginning to fuel a growing interest in heritage conservation. When the railway authorities proposed to demolish the Castle in Cape Town to provide space for more lines into Cape Town Station, there was a public outcry. The Castle, built by the Dutch East India Company between 1666 and 1679 to defend its tenuous foothold on the southern tip of Africa, is the oldest and foremost colonial building in the country. The Castle was saved by the vigorous intercession of Marie Koopmans de Wet, who was a redoubtable campaigner on social issues and wielded considerable influence through her social contacts. In 1905, some of the prominent citizens who met at Mrs Koopmans's 'Salon of Strand Street' formed the first conservation body in the country, the South African National Society.

Although small, the Society's influence grew rapidly and branches were soon established in other urban centres. It aimed to promote the conservation of the natural and scientific heritage as well as "to preserve from destruction all ancient monuments and specimens of old Colonial architecture remaining in South Africa, to keep systematic records of such places ... where they cannot be saved; to compile a register of old furniture and other objects in South Africa and to take all possible measures to discourage their removal from the country; ... to collect records and endeavour to acquire archives of historic interest ... and to endeavour to promote ... a conservative spirit towards the remains and traditions of old Colonial life."

One of the major concerns of the National Society was the plundering of rock paintings and engravings by collectors. Apart from the removal of valuable specimens from the country, the art was frequently damaged or even destroyed in the process of removal. It is noteworthy that, as a result of the Society's campaign, the first heritage legislation in South Africa was concerned not with monuments, but with the country's archaeological heritage. The Bushman-Relics Protection Act of 1911 protected rock art and the contents of the graves, caves, rock shelters, middens or shell-mounds of 'the South African Bushmen or other aboriginals' from damage or destruction, and provided that a permit from the Minister of the Interior was required to export a 'Bushman-relic' from the country. Although no mechanism was created to administer the law, the Natal branch of the Society recorded and mapped many rock art sites with the assistance of the Natal Police and

Forest Rangers, and attempted to fence as many of them as possible.

The South African National Society regarded this as a temporary measure and, inspired by the creation of the Historic Monuments Board in Britain, it continued to lobby for similar legislation in South Africa. The first South African conservation authority the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments of the Union - was established in terms of the Natural and Historical Monuments Act of 1923. The Historical Monuments Commission, as it was commonly known, was charged with compiling a register of monuments, which were holistically defined as "areas of land having distinctive or beautiful scenery, areas with a distinctive, beautiful or interesting content of flora or fauna, and objects (whether natural or constructed by human agency) of aesthetic, historical or scientific value ... and also specifically ... waterfalls, caves, Bushman paintings, avenues of trees, old trees and old buildings."

The Commission could make bylaws to safeguard a monument, and was empowered to enter into an agreement with any public body or individual who owned a monument to ensure its conservation. It could accept donations and, if it had sufficient funds, purchase any monument. On behalf of the Union, it could act as the Trustee of any monument which was given or bequeathed to the country. This period saw the beginning of the practice of marking monuments with a distinctive badge and, in some cases, a plaque explaining the significance of the site. This practice has continued and contributes much to public awareness of heritage sites.

After the Commission itself had lobbied the authorities for improved legislation, in 1934 both the previous Acts were replaced by the Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act. The Commission could now recommend to the relevant Minister of State that a place or object be formally proclaimed a historical monument by notice in the Government Gazette and (in the case of land) endorsement of the Title Deeds. The owner had the right to appeal to the Minister against the proposed proclamation of a monument. The destruction, alteration, removal or export of a monument, relic or antique without the consent of the Commission was illegal and punishable by a fine or imprisonment. Despite the Commission's very limited resources, the energetic activities of its members during the following 35 years resulted in the proclamation of about 300 monuments and the erection of descriptive plaques at a further 200 sites. The diversity of these early monuments reflected the breadth of South Africa's natural and cultural heritage. They included the Castle and Table Mountain, archaeological and palaeontological sites, glaciated rocks and other deposits of geological interest, places of natural beauty, trees of scientific or cultural interest, royal kraals, fortifications and battlefields, bridges, a printing press, historical locomotives and mining equipment, as well as many historical buildings ranging from Christian churches,

Jewish synago-gues, Moslem mosques, Hindu temples and major public buildings to typical vernacular dwellings. It was also involved in the repair, restoration and conservation of many historical buildings and sites. Members actively promoted public awareness of heritage conservation through radio broadcasts, presentations and publications.

The increasing pace and scale of development during the economic boom of the 1960s contributed to growing public concern about heritage matters. During this period several influential conservation organisations were formed (see below). Due to the efforts of these organisations, as well as the Historical Monuments Commission itself, the attention of the authorities was again turned to strengthening legislative measures for heritage conservation.

The National Monuments Council came into being with the promulgation of the National Monuments Act (No. 28 of of 1969) (see Chapter 2) and a new era of cultural heritage management was born.

Current Structure of the NMC

The National Monuments Council comprises two tiers: its Director and Staff at the Head Office and six regional offices on the one hand, and on the other hand a Council whose members serve in an honorary capacity and are appointed by the Minister from nominations received from the public in response to published advertisements. The annual budget is approximately R4.8 million, of which nearly 55% is spent on salaries and wages.

Janette Deacon and Penny Pistorius

The Council consists of twelve members and a Chairperson appointed for a three-year period. They meet two or three times a year to consider matters of policy and strategy, and to make decisions about such issues as the declaration of national monuments and the budget. They are selected for their expertise in the heritage field. The Council may delegate certain powers and therefore appoints committees to which additional members may be appointed. For example, each regional office has a Regional Committee and a Plans Committee, while other committees deal with permits for various activities and policy for particular aspects of heritage conservation.

At present (July 1996) the staff consists of a Head Office with 22 permanent posts including a Director and two Assistant Directors; a Professional Services Division with an archaeologist, a maritime archaeologist, a conservation architect and two librarians; proclamations officer; properties manager; personnel officer; secretaries; and staff for financial and other auxilliary services. Each of the six regional offices in Cape Town, Kimberley, Grahamstown, Pietermaritzburg, Bloemfontein and Pretoria has a Regional Manager and Senior Administrative Assistant. The three larger offices also have a small professional staff. The three staff members in the War Graves Division are located in Pretoria. There is a total full-time staff complement of 43. It is likely that with the devolution of powers to Provinces, all the regional office staff will be transferred

eventually to the Provinces and the Head Office will serve a National function.

Responsibilities of the NMC

As the statutory body tasked by the National Monuments Act (Act 28 of 1969 as amended) with the legislative protection of South Africa's cultural and historical heritage, the National Monuments Council alone has been responsible for the conservation and management of a set of cultural resources that span a period of approximately 2 million years.

The NMC is responsible for the protection and conservation of a wide variety of places and objects that may not be destroyed, damaged, altered, excavated, removed or exported without a permit from the Council. The category that demands most time and energy from the Council's staff is that of buildings that are older than 50 years, but the Act also protects all fossils; all archaeological sites, graves and objects relating to the indigenous people of the country who lived here before 1652; all rock paintings and engravings; all wreck older than 50 years; movable items made of paper that have been in the country for longer than 50 years and items made of materials other than paper that have been in the country for longer than 100 years; war graves and national gardens of remembrance protected by the British War Graves Committee and the Boer Graves Committee dating to before 1914; and immovable properties that are declared national monuments or that have been given special status in conservation areas or on the national register.

Although the term 'monuments' may imply otherwise, the NMC is responsible only in exceptional circumstances for the care of memorials or monuments erected in commemoration of historical events or persons when they warrant declaration because of their design, age, tradition or symbolic value.

Non-governmental organisations in South Africa

Contributed by Joanna Marx

From the early years of the twentieth century groups of private individuals have had a great impact on conservation in South Africa. Both the natural and the cultural aspects of the environment have benefited from the activities of conservation societies, currently categorised as nongovernmental organisations or NGOs.

One of the earliest cultural societies is the South African National Society (established 1904), whose influence led to the promulgation in 1911 of the first cultural conservation legislation, the Bushmen-Relics Protection Act.

As in other countries, public awareness of the need to care for the natural environemnt preceded awareness of the cultural environment. Societies serving these interests were established and could bring pressure to bear on government to implement conservation legislation. At present these societies continue to provide specialist information to government at all levels, to monitor development and to protest on behalf of their members when legislation is not complied with or unsound proposals are being considered.

The most powerful groups are the

national organisations with branches throughout the country, such as the Botanical Society of S A, the Wildlife Society of S A, the South African Archaeological Society and the Simon van der Stel Foundation (established in 1959; its main interest is in conservation of historical buildings). These have done a great deal through the years to raise public awareness and participation. They hold meetings, arrange excursions, publish journals and co-operate with government departments.

Smaller local groups have been very active in drawing people together to promote the culture of their areas. Examples in the Western Cape province are the Simon's Town Historical Society (1960), the Vernacular Architecture Society of South Africa (1964), and the Historical Society of Cape Town (1965). A spate of new societies, especially in country towns, came into being in the early 1980s, including the Swellendam Trust (1980), the Franschhoek Trust (1984), the Still Bay Trust (1985). More recently "Friends of the ..." have been established, many under the auspices of the Wildlife Society and many connected to museums. Many towns are served by branches of the national organisations. These societies have done excellent work in recording local history, architecture and cultural aspects.

To stimulate and co-ordinate such societies networking organisations were established. The Cape Environmental Trust (1978), known as Captrust, is a notable example. Its mission is "to support its network of

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environmental organisations in the protection, maintenance and improvement of the natural and man-made environment". In the early 1990s more than 50 societies were members of Captrust, which held monthly meetings, annual symposiums and produced newsletters.

Elsewhere in the country similar regional networks have also been established. The Eastern Cape Historical Organisation (ECHO), the Natal Association of Historical Societies, the Johannesburg Historical Foundation are examples, all continuing to do good work. There is as yet no national co-ordination between these regional NGO networks.

It has become apparent that in the new South Africa, as before 1994, the NGOs provide an opportunity for individuals to influence their environment, both natural and cultural. The NGOs continue to serve as a source of specialist information and a salutary counter-balance for official policies and the activities of government departments at all levels.

Notes

1. Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. 1996. Draft White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, June 1996. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Legislation and the National Monuments Act

Penny Pistorius

The National Monuments Act, 1969 The National Monuments Act (Act No. 28 of 1969) did not differ substantially from its predecessors and, like the heritage legislation in most former British colonies, was originally based on the instruments developed for the conservation of ancient monuments in that country. The National Monuments Act has been amended several times since its publication to make provision for new categories of protection and is still in place at the time of writing. However, the process of drafting new legislation for heritage conservation has commenced.

The National Monuments Act established a new statutory conservation authority, the National Monuments Council (NMC) that offers a number of forms of protection for both immovable and movable property. These are described in greater detail below. Any person found guilty of an offence and convicted in terms of the Act is liable to a fine not exceeding R10 000 or to imprisonment for two years, or both.

By the 1980s the ineffectiveness of the available conservation instruments in achieving integrated conservation of the historical environment had become a cause of frustration. Both the Council and its predecessor, the Historical Monuments Commission, had repea-

tedly discussed the need for systematic listing of conservation worthy property, but resources had always been inadequate for such an undertaking. The impact of urbanisation and modern planning on historical environments resulted in growing public awareness and more local conservation groups were formed in cities and towns during the eighties than had existed previously. Largely as a result of pressure from these organisations, attempts were made to conserve historical districts and townscapes by means of the only tool available mass declarations of national monuments. However, this was not only a cumbersome procedure, but resulted in management problems for both the National Monuments Council and the local autho-rities involved. After repeated appeals to the State for more effective legislative instruments, the National Monuments Act was amended in 1986 to include listing and conservation areas.

The Act provides for the NMC to compile and maintain a national register of immovable property which it regards as conservation worthy on the ground of its historic, cultural or aesthetic interest, in consultation with the relevant local authority. Similarly, the NMC may designate an area of land of historic, aesthetic or scientific interest to be a conservation area after due consultation with the authority concerned. The planning authority and the owner of property in the register or in a conservation area must consult the Council prior to undertaking any planning which could affect the area or property. The NMC or the local authority may also make specific bylaws safeguarding a conservation area.

An amendment to the Act in 1986 gave general protection to all 'historical sites' defined as 'any identifiable building or part thereof, marker, milestone, gravestone, landmark or tell older than 50 years'. The unforseen result of the amend-ment has contributed to the NMC's inability to muster sufficient resources to implement these measures satisfactorily. While this provision has enabled many conservation worthy buildings to be saved, it also required the dedication of scarce staff and resources to the investigation and processing of hundreds of permit applications. Resources have thus been diverted from activities such as the systematic identification of conservation worthy property which could, in the long term, have led to the development of a more integrated and better coordinated heritage conservation system.

Unfortunately, the additional resources which would be required to undertake systematic surveying of conservation worthy property in order to compile the national register were not made available to the NMC. As a result, listing is uneven and development of the register has been slow.

The 1970s and 1980s also saw an increase in public interest in historical shipwrecks and their sometimes valuable cargo with the development of scuba diving equipment which brought it within reach of a larger number of people. A series of incidents in which wrecks were plundered for silver and gold coins and porcelain that were then sold by public auction in South Africa and abroad, led to amendments to the Act in 1979, 1982 and 1986 that gave the NMC increasing control over such activities. While initially these amendments only made it possible to declare wrecks as national monuments and gave the NMC the power to control the export of items from wrecks older than 50 years, the 1986 amendment stipulated that permits would be required to disturb a wreck and to remove anything from it

The National Monuments Act is unusual in international terms, in that it incorporates provisions for the care of historical war graves, a task which had been undertaken prior to 1981 by a succession of voluntary organisations such as the Guild of Loyal Women, the South African Soldiers' Graves Association, and more recently the State-aided South African War Graves Board. The latter consisted of two sub-committees - the British Forces Committee and the Burgerkomitee (Burger or Afrikaner Committee) which were retained largely unchanged by the NMC to form the British War Graves and Burgergrafte (Burger Graves) committees of the NMC War Graves Division the South African War Graves Board after an

as well.

amendment to the Act in 1981. These two statutory committees are responsible for the identification, recording and conservation of the graves of people who died in South Africa in wars and rebellions (First and Second World War graves are excepted, as these graves are cared for by the Commonwealth War Graves Board in terms of the Commonwealth War Graves Act) or who died overseas as prisoners of war during the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), as well the graves of garrison troops stationed in South Africa and Voortrekkers. Burial sites containing such graves may be declared national gardens of remembrance and the Act also provides for the erection of commemorative memorials.

Recently the changing face of South African society and politics has highlighted the Eurocentric focus of these two committees, which deal predominantly with European colonial graves and remains. This has led to the proposed establishment of an integrated, inclusive national subcommittee of the NMC to be known as Graves of Victims of Conflict, which will replace the two existing committees and will include within its ambit the graves and memorials to the other South Africans who have died in pre- and post-colonial conflicts throughout South Africa.

In addition to the National Monuments Act, under the apartheid system three 'homelands' passed their own legislation and established independent conservation authorities. The Ciskei Historical Monuments Act, the Transkei Monu-ments Act and the KwaZulu Monuments and Museums Act were all based on the South African National Monuments Act before its amendment in 1986.

The KwaZulu Monuments Council (KMC) was constituted in 1981 with its headquarters at the Ondini Historical Complex in Ulundi. It developed into the most active monuments council amongst the homelands and by 1994 had a staff of 45. Its role and purpose was to research and provide protective measures for places of historic and cultural interest directly relevant to the history of the territory known as KwaZulu and now incorporated into the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Most of the sites under the jurisdiction of the KMC are in economically depressed rural areas and in many instances are of little significance to the local communities. The development of these sites has been largely informed by the recognition of the need for local community involvement in any development programmes. While this process has not been without problems, successful partnerships have been negotiated, particularly where economic upliftment and social benefits are involved.¹ The province is in the process of promulgating its own legislation that will amalgamate with the regional office of the NMC to form Amafa aKwaZulu-Natal (Heritage KwaZulu-Natal). **Related Legislation**

Although South African monuments legislation has always encompassed both the natural and the cultural heritage, there is an unfortunate lack of coordination with related legislation, which has hampered the development of an integrated heritage resources conservation system. This applies particularly to legislation for environmental conservation and planning.

In terms of the Environment Conservation Act of 1989 (see Chapter 3), the Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism may require an impact assessment of any land development in both the natural and the human environment. The identification and assessment of cultural resources is an essential part of this process of integrated environmental management. As the National Monuments Council is responsible for the protection of such resources, permits may be required in order to undertake the assessment and mitigation if protected resources are affected by the development. Close cooperation is therefore required between the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism and the NMC, and while there is a good working relationship between the two authorities the legislation does not facilitate the coordination of their requirements or concerns.

The lack of coordination between the National Monuments Act and legislation regulating land use and development planning has frequently caused frustration. Many local authorities have become aware of the value of historical buildings and townscapes and the contribution that they can make to tourism development. Some cities and towns have catalogued historical buildings and identified conservation areas independently of the NMC, introducing special consent procedures in

terms of town planning regulations. Others have undertaken conservation surveys in cooperation with the NMC, incorporating their lists into the national register and controlling conservation areas in terms of the National Monuments Act. However, the involvement of local authorities is dependent on their goodwill. The National Monuments Act makes no provision for the delegation of powers and responsibilities in terms of the Act to local authorities, nor does it require them to refer matters falling under its jurisdiction to the NMC. This has resulted in many problems, particularly with the implementation of the 'historical sites clause', discussed above. Some provincial planning ordinances include minimal requirements that heritage resources be taken into account in planning, but they are frequently ignored. In many cases particularly along the coast, which is rich in archaeological sites - this lack of coordination has resulted in the destruction of irreplaceable heritage resources.

New Legislation: the way forward

The democratic transformation in South Africa obviously necessitates the revision of legislation in a wide variety of fields. The need to review the South African heritage conservation system and redraft the muchamended National Monuments Act has been recognised for a number of years, and was an important component of the ACTAG recommendations. Under the new Constitution, drafting new legislation for heritage resources managment has become imperative. Both the Interim Constitution, under which the Government of National Unity is currently operating, and the proposed Constitution which was adopted on 8 May 1996, make provision for a more decentralised system of government. This also applies to the administration of heritage conservation, as the competence to legislate for provincial cultural matters is among the increa-sed powers of the nine new provinces.

The role of a new national heritage resources agency will therefore change significantly. Its conservation responsibilities will be limited to heritage resources of national significance, or to those which cannot be managed at provincial level. Much of the conservation work presently undertaken by the NMC's regional offices will become the responsibility of provincial heritage agencies. However, the capacities of provinces to administer heritage conservation differ widely. Provinces which inherited administrative structures set up under the 'homelands' system have indicated their intention of drafting legislation for heritage conservation, and one -KwaZulu-Natal - has already completed a consultative process and prepared draft heritage legislation. Other provinces are awaiting national guidance.

It is in this context that the drafting of new national heritage resources legislation is currently taking place. A process of public consultation is under way, following a request from the Council of Culture Ministers (composed of the nine provincial Ministers for Culture) to the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. The National Monuments Council is coordinating and funding a series of public Forums. At the first Forum on 5 March 1996 at the Castle in Cape Town a Writing Committee was nominated to take the process forward. The Committee has studied relevant South African and foreign legislation and considered all submissions received from the public, specialists and interest groups, in order to prepare a framework for the new legislation. The Framework was presented to a second public Forum in Johannesburg on 2 July, and the draft legislation will be considered at a final Forum, to be held in September. It is envisaged that the new legislation will be submitted to Parliament early in 1997.

While it is not possible at this stage to predict the exact form that the legislation will take, there is broad agreement about the scope, nature and style of the new Act. There is also general acceptance of the national principles, norms and standards for heritage conservation and the basic components of the proposed heritage resources management system, as set out in the Framework.

Some of the principles guiding consideration of the new Act are:

- the State has a moral responsibility to conserve the cultural heritage for the benefit of present and future generations, and in the management of heritage resources under its control it should set an example to the private sector;
- heritage resources conservation should be an integral part of the

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process of reconstruction and development, particularly with respect to education, job creation and tourism;

- * the contribution of heritage resources to the development of a national identity, while fostering understanding and respect for the diversity of South African culture, should be promoted;
- * community participation in all aspects of the system should be encouraged, from the identification of places and objects for protection, to the management and development of sites.

Continuing the tradition of holism which has been part of the South African heritage conservation system from the outset, the system set up by the legislation will incorporate the full range of cultural heritage resources, including the 'cultural landscape', the archaeological and palaeontological heritage, various categories of graves, movable objects and sites, buildings and structures which are valued for a variety of reasons. The criteria for assessment will be broad and inclusive, ensuring the recognition of diverse cultural values.

In line with the new Constitution, the system will incorporate appropriate systems of protection and management at local, provincial and national levels. The majority of heritage resources will be managed by heritage agencies in the nine provinces. This will include the formal protection of 'heritage sites' and 'heritage objects' of provincial significance, as well as the management of heritage resources which are automatically protected, such as archaeological and palaeontological sites and objects. Provincial heritage agencies will also assist local authorities to manage 'listed buildings' and conservation areas as an integral part of the planning system, monitoring their performance and developing their skills and capacity.

The national heritage agency will be responsible for the protection of heritage sites and objects of special national significance only. It will thus be able to fulfil a new role, with an emphasis on guidance and coordination. It will be required to publish and review policy, five year strategy plans, and objectives for national heritage resources management. Among its functions will be coordinating and monitoring the heritage system as a whole, ensuring that standards are met and principles adhered to, maintaining national records, promoting heritage resources, providing specialised services and assistance to provincial heritage agencies where possible and assisting public education programmes.

The national heritage agency will also be responsible for liaison and cooperation with international organisations such as ICOMOS, UNESCO and the World Heritage Committee, and with heritage authorities in other countries.

Notes

 Van Schalkwyk, L.O. 1995. A new relevance for old monuments: the Isandlwana model. SAMAB 21:40-43. Forms of Protection Provided by the National Monuments Act

Janette Deacon and George Hofmeyr

The historical and practical reasons for the forms of protection given by the National Monuments Act (Act No. 28 of 1969) to monuments and sites in South Africa have been summarised in the previous chapter. This chapter examines them in more detail with examples of some applications not detailed in the case studies.

Briefly, the National Monuments Council (NMC) may give protection to a property by declaring it a national monument either permanently or provisionally; by including it in the national register of conservationworthy property; by including it in a conservation area; or by issuing a permit for the destruction, demolition, alteration or excavation of a site. Permits may also be issued for the export of heritage objects or for the removal of fossils and archaeological material from their original site. The NMC's policy, guidelines, by-laws and regulations that assist in decisionmaking are detailed in the next chapter.

The Permanent Declaration of National Monuments

It is one of the primary functions of the Council to make recommendations to the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology regarding the permanent declaration of properties as national monuments. The criteria for declaration have changed through time, but for the most part have focused on sites of aesthetic, historical, cultural, spiritual or scientific significance. They may be privately or publicly owned. In order to protect the privacy of owners, declaration does not give the public automatic right of access, although the NMC has the power to inspect a monument during reasonable hours. The NMC must notify the owner when it has decided to recommend declaration, and the owner's consent or objections must be submitted to the Minister with the recommendation. If the declaration proceeds without consent, the owner is entitled to appeal to the Minister.

The NMC is empowered to grant subsidies for the purchase, restoration or repair of a national monument, and although the funds available have been limited, it has contributed funds to many conservation projects. In addition, the Council is responsible for funding the maintenance and conservation of the national monuments which it owns and has undertaken major conservation work on some of them.

Since 1935 when legislation first



Fig. 1. The badge of the National Monuments Council is available for display on all national monuments.

provided for declaration, 1984 properties have been accorded national monument status. These include over 4000 buildings and structures as well as about 50 sites of geological. palaeontological and archaeological significance, and places of natural beauty that have acquired historical or cultural significance. Title deeds are endorsed on declaration and a bronze badge (Fig. 1) is affixed to all national monuments to indicate their conservation status. Some monuments and other sites of interest to the public may also be supplied with information on a bronze plaque that describes their particular significance (Fig. 2).

The main purpose of declaration is permanent protection against

unauthorised alteration or destruction. Once a building or site has been declared, any proposals for alteration must be approved by the NMC's Plans Committees.

The range of buildings and sites declared as national monuments over the past 60 years clearly reflects the colonial and apartheid history of the country. The bias has attracted justifiable criticism because well over 95% of the declarations are for buildings constructed by people of European origin since the Dutch East India Company first established a refreshment station at Cape Town in 1652. Affirmative action is required to redress the imbalance and is being applied with the assistance of the general public. Some examples are given in the following chapters.

The NMC administers a number of Trust Funds established for the conservation of specific national monuments and advises owners about technical aspects of conservation free of charge. The NMC itself owns 37 national monuments and is responsible for their maintenance and management. The majority of these were either owned or purchased by the State in the past and may not be sold. Some are described in Chapter Fifteen.

The Provisional Declaration of National Monuments

Since 1969, the National Monuments Act has made provision for the temporary declaration of any property or structure as a national monument. The purpose of provisional declaration is to give legal protection in cases of imminent demolition or where deadlock is reached about the future conservation of important elements of our cultural heritage. It may also be applied where the NMC wishes to have control over work being done on a structure, but wishes to await the outcome before deciding whether or not to recommend permanent declaration or to implement other forms of protection.

An example of successful application is that of the village of Tulbagh after a massive earthquake in 1969 that also heralded the concept of conservation areas in South Africa¹. This was later applied successfully in the historical core of Wynberg in Cape Town, and later in the Karoo village of Graaff-Reinet² to achieve the same objectives as the conservation area. *Tulbagh after the Earthquake: A Watershed in Heritage Conservation*

On 29 September 1969, an earthquake that measured 6.5 on the Richter scale caused an estimated R20 million damage within 30 seconds in the country village of Tulbagh in the Western Cape. The shock waves caused walls and roofs to collapse and water pipes and dam walls to burst. Because of the historical interest of the buildings, the Tulbagh Restoration Committee was formed soon afterwards by leading architects, conservators, historians and business interests.³ Although several other towns in the vicinity also suffered considerable damage, the decision was taken to focus attention on Church Street in Tulbagh and to make a visible contribution that would not spread resources too thinly. The proposal was therefore to re-build the Church Street buildings as far as



Fig. 2. Bronze plaques and badges are sometimes the target of scrap metal theives. The NMC replaces them with fibreglass replicas.

possible with the funds available. As property owners were divided on whether to allow the demolition of their homes or not, pressure was put on the NMC to provisionally declare all the buildings in the street.

The town was based around an outpost of the Dutch East India Company that was sold in 1743 to Pieter de Vos. Building of the church - after which Church Street was named - commenced in 1743 but was finished only in 1748. The village grew slowly and the Predikant's home, later a wine cellar, was added in 1783 while a magistracy (Drostdy) was completed in 1807. However, in 1840 the village still consisted only of Church Street with half a second street behind it. Growth accelerated after the construction of several passes through the mountains in the 1840s and 1850s making Tulbagh more accessible.

Building materials were sun-baked mud bricks covered with clay plaster for the walls, based on shale foun-

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dations quarried locally. Yellowwood ceilings in the more important rooms in the front of the house and reed ceilings with clay in the kitchen and rooms at the back of the house were common. Doors and windows were made mostly of yellowwood, while floors were initially made of earth or dung with wooden floorboards added later. Outside walls were finished with whitewash or yellow clay, and some were painted in brown or bluegrey. The same colours were found on old fragments of plaster still adhering to interior walls after the earthquake, sometimes with a dark blue frieze. Outside woodwork was painted green or brown or was left unpainted in the later nineteenth century buildings.

The committee used a photograph of Church Street taken in 1861, together with sketches made in 1811 by the artist and traveller William Burchell to guide them in deciding on the restoration details of each building. Although initially they decided only to restore the facades, the value of the original fabric became clear as they began to work and it was decided to retain as much of the old materials as possible. Some compromises were necessary to make the houses comfortable and original materials such as yellowwood floors and ceilings could not be always be replaced for financial reasons.

One of the most successfully restored buildings was No. 42 Church Street (Fig. 2). It was originally built in 1796 for Hendrik Vos and a sketch made in 1811 by William Burchell shows a typical Cape Dutch gable. During the nineteenth century many

changes were made and the front gable was entirely removed. After the earthquake, the decision was made to restore the building to its original plan and facade. The plaster was removed from the walls to ascertain the position of the original doors and windows and Burchell's drawing was used to design the gable.

Seen in retrospect as a milestone in the conservation of historical buildings in South Africa, the Tulbagh project required important decisions to be taken on what should and should not be restored. The experience that was gained assisted not only with the development of official policy, but also led to the revival of skills, the training of new craftspeople and a renewed interest in the use of old materials.

Designation of Conservation Areas

The National Monuments Council can designate any conservation-worthy rural, urban, archaeological and/or natural area as a conservation area. The main aim is to control development through a consultation process in an environment or context of a group of elements of historical, aesthetic and/or scientific value.

Regulations or by-laws may be promulgated for each conservation area, depending on the needs of each particular situation. In the urban context the establishment of conservation areas is essentially a town planning tool which is used in consultation with the local authority and the relevant community. Examples are given by Stephen Townsend in Chapter Twenty.







Fig. 3. No. 42 Church Street, Tulbagh, shown in a drawing by Burchell (1811) (top), at the time of the earthquake (middle) and fully restored (below). (Photos: G. Fagan)

The National Register

In consultation with the local authority concerned, the NMC can list structures or sites in the Register of Conservation-worthy Immovable Property on grounds of cultural, historical or aesthetic interest. The purpose is to identify all conservation-worthy property within any given geographical area in the country. If listed in the Register, owners, planning bodies and local authorities are alerted to the importance of the properties and to the need for consultation with the NMC if any alterations are envisaged. The property is entered in the Register if it is of local or provincial significance. It is therefore a pro-active method of heritage conservation, although the success of the system depends on community involvement and cooperation of the local authority.

Owners of properties that are placed in the Register may purchase a



Fig. 4. The NMC's National Register badge.

distinctive enamelled aluminium badge to be affixed to the building (Fig. 3). General Protection of Sites through Permits

In addition to the protection offered and permits required to alter declared national monuments, general protection is afforded for other categories of site. Under the National Monuments Act of 1969, no person shall destroy, damage, excavate, alter, remove from its original site or export from the Republic without a permit from the Council, any:

- meteorite;
- fossil;
- rock painting or rock engraving done by people who inhabited or visited South Africa before the settlement of the Europeans at the Cape;
- implement, ornament or structure made or erected by the people referrred to above;
- the anthropological or archaeological contents of graves, caves, rock shelters, middens, shell mounds or other sites used by such people;
- historical site, archaeological or palaeontological finds, material or object; or
- wreck which is 50 years old or older.

An historical site is defined as "any identifiable building or part thereof, marker, milestone, gravestone, landmark or tell older than 50 years".

This list is presently under revision, but it is noteworthy that while such general protection controls legal alteration, collection, excavation and export, many sites are destroyed or damaged through ignorance - particularly archaeological and palaeontological sites in the rural environment. The lack of resources, including staff, makes it either difficult or impossible to identify, much less prosecute, offenders and since the first legislation was promulgated in 1911, fewer than ten cases have been brought to court.

As noted above, most of the day-today work of staff at the Council's six regional offices is connected with the evaluation of applications and the issuing or refusal of permits to alter or demolish buildings older than 50 years. Ideally, decisions of this kind should be made by the local authority but until these authorities develop the capacity to assess such applications, they will continue to be directed to the NMC. Decisions are taken by plans committees whose members have expertise in conservation architecture and related fields.

A permit system is also managed by the NMC to regulate palaeontological and archaeological excavations and collecting activities. It ensures that permit holders are adequately qualified, employ scientific methods and arrange for the ongoing preservation and curation of recovered material in an accredited institution. The NMC requires the submission of interim and final reports on activities undertaken under permits for palaeontological and archaeological sites and shipwrecks.

Over the past 60 years, permits have been issued to about 200 individuals mostly professional palaeontologists and archaeologists - for the investigation of between 600 and 700 archaeological and palaeontological sites and shipwrecks.

Education of the general public through the publication of pamphlets,⁴ articles and posters, has been regarded as the most efficient means of protecting heritage sites by making people aware of the reasons for protection as well as of the terms of the law, but the scale at which educational campaigns have been implemented in the past has been limited.

Controls are also possible through by-laws and regulations and through conditions imposed on permits that specify, for example, the minimum requirements for archaeological excavations and for shipwreck salvage. The principles embodied in such regulations are that the permit holder should ensure that a detailed record of the excavation or collection programme is kept, that the artefacts or fossils recovered are properly catalogued, conserved and curated in a museum that has adequate storage and curation facilities, and that the results of the work are written up either for the NMC or for publication.

Since the promulgation of the Environment Conservation Act in 1989, more work has been generated by the need for environmental impact assessments that include cultural sites. This aspect is discussed in Chapter Four.

Protection and Maintenance of War Graves

In terms of the requirements of the National Monuments Act, the work of the War Graves Division of the NMC is both extensive and specialised. The Division is responsible for identifying, marking, maintaining, restoring and preserving the graves, cemeteries, national gardens of remembrance and memorials of all military personnel and their dependants who died in South Africa, in war or peace, between 1795 and the outbreak of World War I in 1914. This amounts to an estimated total of 60 000 individual graves.

The Act also requires that the NMC compile and maintain suitable records and registers of the location of war graves, their state of preservation, and the personal details of those buried there. The Act further requires that these lists and details be published periodically, and that the Division answer public requests and queries. Finally, the Division is tasked with the provision of markers, plaques and relevant information at burials sites, and where necessary, the exhumation and reinterment of remains.

Prior to the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), also known as the South African War, the care of war graves was vested with the army or with communities in which the graves or cemeteries were situated. After this conflict, however, the Royal Engineers were given the task of recording the location of all military graves from this war, and a number of different registers and lists were compiled from the original survey. These lists were used, updated and expanded by the various war graves organisations that followed, until they were taken over by the War Graves Division of the NMC and centralised on the Victima database (see Chapters Five and Sixteen).

Protection and Export of Movable Cultural Property

Certain movable cultural property considered to be of significance may be declared a cultural treasure and will enjoy protection from the National Monuments Act. Ten collections or objects have been declared cultural treasures since an amendment to the Act made this possible in 1986. They include the contents of the Genadendal Mission Museum and the library of General J C Smuts.

Other classes of movable cultural property require a permit if they are to be exported. With the exception of archaeological and palaeontological material, however, the traffic of cultural property into and out of South Africa has not been strictly controlled and many classes of artefacts are not specifically protected by legislation. Most museums, however, support the code of ethics adopted by the South African Museums Association (SAMA) in April 1979 in which the principles of the Unesco Convention are endorsed.

The items listed in the Act as requiring a permit to export include any meteorite or fossil; rock painting or petroglyph; archaeological implements or ornaments; and the anthropological or archaeological contents of graves, caves, rock shelters, middens, shell mounds or other sites; as well as:

- any painting, print, document, deed, seal, stamp or manuscript or collection or group thereof or an object made of paper that has been in the Republic for longer than 50 years;
- any object or collection or group

of objects of any substance except paper, that has been in the Republic for longer than 100 years;

- any movable object or collection of objects of any substance, including manuscripts, declared by the council to be a cultural treasure;
- any wreck or portion of wreck, or any object derived from wreck, that has been in South African territorial waters longer than 50 years; or
- any burial ground or grave referred to in section 3A(2) [i.e. war graves and national gardens of remembrance].

Both permanent and temporary export permits may be issued. The criteria used in assessing applications are based on the Waverley Criteria used in Britain. Reviewers are asked to consider:

- is the object so closely connected with the history of South Africa and its national life that its export would be a great loss?
- is it of outstanding aesthetic importance?
- is it of outstanding significance for the study of some particular branch of art, science, learning or history?

International Protection

The exclusion of South Africa from United Nations activities from the early 1970s until 1994 has meant that the country is not yet a State Party to any of the international cultural heritage conventions of Unesco. It seems likely, however, that Parliament will approve the World Heritage Convention and become a signatory in 1996 or 1997. In view of the fact that world heritage sites include both natural and cultural places, the Department of Environ-mental Affairs and Tourism is responsible for liaison with Unesco in this regard and works closely with the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology and the NMC to identify cultural heritage sites worthy of world heritage status.

The recovery of illegally exported material is problematic. South Africa has no database of stolen cultural objects or cultural items brought illicitly from foreign countries. Although not a signatory to the 1970 Unesco Convention⁵, it is expected that South Africa will be a signatory to the forthcoming Unidroit Convention.

Notes

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- 1. Fagan, G. and Fagan, G. 1974. Church Street in the Land of Waveren. Tulbagh Restoration Committee.
- 2. See chapter by Peter Whitlock, this volume.
- 3. We acknowledge with gratitude the assistance of Gabriël and Gwen Fagan who generously made information and photographs of Tulbagh available for this contribution.
- 4. For example, Deacon, J. 1992. Archaeology for planners, developers and local authorities. Cape Town: National Monuments Council. Reprinted 1996.
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Cultural Resource Management and the Environment Conservation Act, 1989

Ingrid Coetzee, Alicia Monis and Juanita Pastor

In addition to the protections offered by the National Monuments Act, the Environment Conservation Act (Act No. 73 of 1989) provides for cultural resources management as part of the broader field of environmental management. It is administered by the Subdirectorate: Cultural Resources Management of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. This department is also responsible for the co-ordination of matters relating to the World Heritage Convention, although South Africa is not yet a State Party.

The South African government has a broad holistic view of the environment. Central to this view is the belief that people are an integral part of the environment, as is clear from the definition provided in the Environment Conservation Act:

Environment refers to the aggregate of surrounding objects, conditions and influences that affect the life and habits of people or any other organism or collection of organisms. This definition embraces both natural features as well as features adapted and created by people within the environment in the past and present. These features are the result of continuing human cultural activity and reflect a range of community values. They are cultural resources and make up the human cultural environment. The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism recognises the importance of South Africa's rich and diverse cultural heritage as an integral part of the environment.

Policy and legislation

The Environment Conservation Act, the White Paper on a National Environmental Management System for South Africa (1993) and the General Environmental Policy (1994) assign the responsibility for ensuring that the effective protection and sustainable use of cultural resources is integrated into environmental management to the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. The General Environmental Policy:

- * establishes the principle of trusteeship towards the natural and cultural environment;
- * advocates the sustainable use of cultural resources; and
- * declares that cultural resources "must be integrated into the process of environmental management. In particular, it must be ensured that the maintenance of cultural assets is taken into account in all development projects and that the

needs of the local communities are honoured in this respect."

Compliance with the policy by government institutions is regulated in terms of Section 3 of the Environment Conservation Act. The regulations are in the process of development. They will be in the form of schedules that identify the activities which require impact assessment, and in the form of regulations which spell out the procedures for impact assessment.

Assignment of Functions

The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism is responsible for ensuring the integration of heritage management into the environmental management process and tourism. This Department's responsibilities are focused on developing a framework for national policy, norms and standards to ensure that:

- the sustainable management of cultural resources is integrated into environmental management and tourism;
- * the impacts of development projects and tourism on cultural resources are assessed and provision is made for mitigation; and
- * the cultural heritage is addressed in environmental education and tourism development.

By contrast, the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology through the National Monuments Council is responsible for the identification, preservation, protection, development and interpretation of the cultural heritage.

Cultural Resources and Environmental Management

The Department of Environmental

Affairs and Tourism has over the past decade played an important role in ensuring that the sustainable use and development of cultural resources is integrated into environmental management processes. The planning and permit procedures of a wide variety of activities, for example mining, nature conservation, forestry, solid waste management, coastal zone management and tourism, require that consideration is given to the impacts of the activity on cultural resources. In the case of mining, the Aide Memoire for Environmental Management Programmes which are required in terms of the Minerals Act (No. 51 of 1991) states that 'sites of archaeological and cultural interest' on the property developed for mining must be listed and mapped. In addition, the impacts of the mining activities on cultural resources must be described and provision must be made for any mitigation. This applies to prospecting, mining or mine closure. Provision for dealing with cultural resources is also made in the official Minimum Requirements for Waste

Management. Archaeological sites, for example, are mentioned specifically in the Environmental Impact Matrix.¹ Hazardous and solid waste management is regulated in terms of the Environment Conservation Act and administered by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry.

In the field of coastal zone management, known archaeological sites were included in an exercise to identify 'sensitive coastal areas' along the entire 3000 km coastline of South Africa.² The guidelines which were

developed to regulate control of activities such as earthmoving, building or dredging in 'sensitive coastal areas' make specific provision for cultural resources. In terms of the government policy which regulates the use of off-road vehicles in the coastal zone, historical or palaeontological sites are specifically declared offbounds for such vehicles.³

The concept of Cultural Resources Management (CRM) has also been introduced to nature conservation. The General Policy⁴ includes several references to cultural resources. CRM has increasingly been accepted as one of the functions of nature conservation agencies.

The White Paper on Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa (June 1996) specifically acknowledges the cultural environment. One of the principles is that tourism development should include the effective protection and sustainable use of cultural resources and be managed in such a way as to ensure community benefit.

To affirm its commitment to ensuring that cultural resources are integrated into the environmental management process, the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism has devised a comprehensive Cultural Resources Management Programme that is aimed at all levels of government, industry, environmental and planning consultants, cultural resource specialists, labour, nongovernmental organisations, community-based organisations and conservation agencies.

The CANIS Project

A project called Cultural Resource Management in Afforested and Nature Conservation Areas and Indigenous Forests in South Africa (CANIS) was commissioned by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism in 1991 to promote the concept of cultural resources management as an important and integral component of the management of nature conservation and forestry areas. Cultural resources found in South African nature conservation and afforested areas include sites of religious or symbolic significance such as rock art; sites of conflict, oral histories and traditions; historic buildings; both movable and immovable structures and objects; burial sites and marked graves; place names; social and economic processes; and domesticated plants and animals. The Department contracted the National Cultural History Museum in Pretoria to conduct the research.

The initial focus of the CANIS project was to develop management principles through a participative process for application in nature conservation and afforested areas. The principles identified include: * value

- * public, institution, scientific, economic, cultural and spiritual benefit
- * understanding
- * respect
- integrity of approach, and

* public involvement and participation To test the principles and guidelines in practice, a pilot project involving a complex of nature reserves under the

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jurisdiction of the Eastern Cape Department of Nature Conservation was commissioned. The other participating party in this pilot project was the regional tourism agency (Contour).

The objectives of developing CRM guidelines in nature conservation and afforested areas are:

- * to facilitate and implement all forms of public participation with regard to research, inventorisation, evaluation, planning, conservation and use of cultural resources;
- to facilitate and conduct research on cultural resources in nature conservation and forestry areas;
- to draw up an inventory of cultural resources in nature conservation and forestry areas;
- * to evaluate cultural resources in nature conservation areas;
- * to plan for the preservation and use of cultural resources through the application of the Integrated Environmental Management (IEM) procedure;
- * to implement the planning decisions, evolved through the IEM procedure, with regard to the protection of cultural resources in nature conservation and forestry areas;
- * to market cultural resources and CRM in order to attract and satisfy the needs of tourists and other consumers; and
- * to facilitate and conduct the auditing of cultural resource management in nature conservation and forestry areas.

The development of these principles and objectives will ensure that South Africa's cultural resources, both tangible and intangible, will be protected and conserved for future generations along with the other natural features to be found in nature conservation areas and forests. The long term goal of this project is to secure cultural resources in these areas against any potential negative impacts, so that both domestic and international communities can enjoy the benefits they provide for a long time to come. The awareness generated through the CANIS project has resulted in the establishment of a Cultural Resources Management Unit within the National Parks Board. This Unit ensures that awareness of the existence of cultural resources within national parks is created and that these are included in the management plans of national parks. The CANIS project principles have also been incorporated into the Department of Forestry's White Paper. This will ensure that an awareness is raised of the need to manage and protect cultural resources within afforested areas and that cultural resources management can be applied to forestry management procedures. Sustainable Development in Rural **Mission Settlements**

During the nineteenth century, missionary activity in South Africa was intense, with about 25 missionary societies operating throughout the country. They established some 600 major missions and 4000 out-stations, many of which grew into towns (Fig. 1).^{5 6}

Missions not only played an important role in the social and political life of South Africa, but were

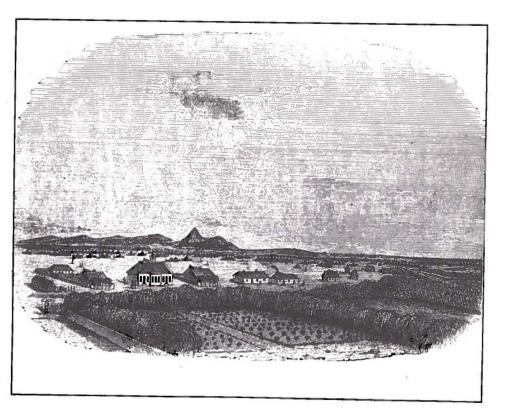


Fig. 1. A bird's eye view by Robert Moffatt of the mission station he established at Kuruman in the 1840s. It clearly shows the layout of such settlements.

also instrumental in providing services to local communities and by the 1850s were established centres of learning. In the 1980s the need for a project that would stop insensitive planning and development by the then House of Representatives was idenfitied by Western Cape mission communities. This need was brought to the attention of the national Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism by a community leader, Mr I. Balie of Genadendal. Consequently, in 1990 the Department commissioned a team of architecture and planning researchers

from the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of Cape Town. Their brief was to conduct research on Sustainable Development in Historic Mission Settlements.

Initially the project was aimed at providing an overview of existing conservation needs in mission stations and their communities. However it soon became apparent that the project could deliver more than a mere list of conservation-worthy buildings. The research was therefore focused on the identification of mission buildings that were still being intensively used, the

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threats to their continued existence and "realistic proposals to assist with the process of conservation".⁷ This grounded the project in the idea of integrated and sustainable development, rather than conservation for the sake of conservation. Early in the project it became obvious that a purely theoretical approach would not suffice as the research had evolved into a community-based project.

In 1995, the Department was approached by the Eastern Cape Provincial Government to embark on a joint project to ensure sustainable development in the rural historic mission settlements, with the objective of resurrecting these settlements as regional service centres.

Mission activity in the Eastern Cape in the nineteenth century was extensive and developed vibrant rural epicentres of learning. Unfortunately, a downward spiral initiated by the changing priorities of the Nationalist government from the late 1940s led to colleges such as Healdtown and Lovedale being taken over by the Department of Bantu Education in the 1950s. By the 1960s most of the essential services provided by missions, for example health services at St Mathews, were either taken over by the central state department, or were given to the homeland governments.⁸ In most cases schools with hostels and modern facilities were built in the towns and the rural mission schools became less popular and were neglected as a result.

The proposal to upgrade mission buildings in a joint project with the Eastern Cape Provincial Government was therefore welcomed as it would incorporate principles of the Reconstruction and Development Programme together with issues of environmental management and heritage conservation. Secondly, it is enhanced by the fact that many current South African leaders such as Senator Govan Mbeki and President Nelson Mandela are mission school graduates. The project therefore endorses the role played by mission schools in the history of South Africa.

Standard criteria were applied to the survey information on missions in the Eastern Cape and eight were identified to form the crux of the joint project. These are Healdtown, St Mathews, Mgwali, Blytheswood, Clarkebury, Shawbury, Enon and Lourdes (Fig. 2). Fundamental to the joint project will be the identification of the specific needs of each community in consultation with the University of Cape Town's School of Architecture and Planning.

A workshop at Lovedale College in the Eastern Cape, held on 1 June 1996, was the culmination of the needs assessment, fieldwork and research phase of the project. The purpose of the workshop was to acquire endorsement from the eight mission communities of a document which outlines the project proposals for specific reconstruction and development projects. A particular focus will be the rehabilitation of the mission school buildings that will be reused instead of newly constructed schools and hostels.

The rehabilitation will be coordinated by the Eastern Cape

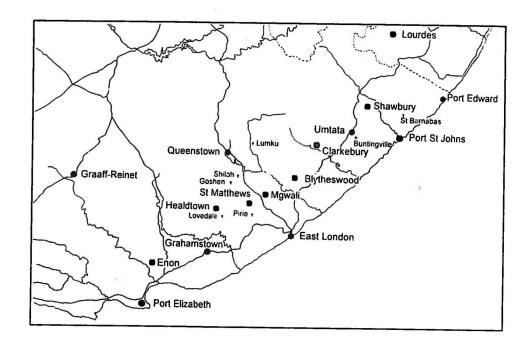


Fig. 2. Map showing location of the mission stations involved in the Eastern Cape project. Reproduced with permission from Japha et al. 1996.

Department of Education, Culture and Sport, in co-operation with other departments such as the Department of Health, to provide the necessary services and infrastructure. The Eastern Cape Government has stressed that the work should be seen as collective and that one mission will not be given priority over another. To ensure the proper management of the project the Department will be employing a manager who will be responsible for co-ordination. **Conclusion**

These few examples of projects being facilitated by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism underscore the value of integrating cultural resources in holistic environmental management. This approach to heritage conservation has the power to enrich communities throughout South Africa.

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National Databases on Monuments and Sites

John Gribble

It is generally acknowledged that the conkey to effective heritage management and conservation by any heritage management organisation is access to accurate and two reliable information concerning the the materials and sites to be managed.^{1 2 3}

In view of the enormous size and range of the cultural resources for which the NMC is responsible, the development and maintenance of a system of inventories and databases has been imperative to the successful functioning of the organisation as the national statutory compliance agency.

The NMC has seen as one of its major tasks therefore the creation of inventories and databases relating to the variety of cultural resources which it is required to protect, and has worked towards documenting these sites, materials and objects. Due to the size of the cultural heritage record, its numerous foci, and the fact that each different facet of this record has peculiar management problems, the NMC has established three separate databases, rather than a single, large heritage resource inventory. These databases do not claim to be a complete inventory of South Africa's cultural heritage, but instead represent a basic, expandable management tool and information pool that is aimed at facilitating the NMC's enormous

he conservation mandate.

The types of data collected, managed and used by the NMC are in two main categories. Paper-based files that range from the letters, permits and historical information on sites, buildings, objects and materials in which the NMC has an interest in terms of the Act; and electronic databases that contain easily accessible background information that is vital to the effective management of heritage resources.

The National Monuments Council maintains the following electronic databases and the details are summarised in Table 1:

- Conserva and Informa that manage information on historical sites and the built environment older than 50 years;
- architects in South Africa to 1940;
- * shipwrecks older than 50 years; and
- war graves dating to between 1795 and 1914.

A fifth, aimed at facilitating the management of archaeological and palaeontological sites for which permits have been issued, is in the process of being established.

The Head Office of the NMC has a local area network (LAN) using

Novell software which it shares with its Western Cape Regional office. The LAN has 15 workstations. LANs are also operating at the KwaZulu-Natal and Northern Region offices, while the offices in Kimberley, Grahamstown and Bloemfontein use stand-alone PCs. All the regional offices are linked by modem to the Head Office. Master copies of all of databases are housed at the Head Office, and each regional office has access to those that it requires.

Paper-based Files

The paper-based files of the NMC go back to the 1920s when its equivalent organisation was first established. The head office files are kept in a fire-proof safe and are in constant use. Copies of most of the case files are also kept at the relevant regional office. The filing system is geographically based on the magisterial district in which a site is situated.

In addition to the general files, the NMC also has a library dedicated to reference works relevant to heritage conservation.

Conservation Areas and the Register of Conservation-Worthy Property

There are presently 601 properties entered in the Register, and 15 conservation areas designated in terms of the Act. Information on them is kept both in hard copy files at the head office and relevant region, and in the electronic databases named Conserva and Informa.

The hard-copy information required for the assessment and management of Conservation Areas and for listing in the Register of Conservation-Worthy Property, is usually collected through surveys of the properties by the NMC or independent consultants, the results of which may be published. These surveys and accompanying documentation are used not only by the NMC, but are distributed to local planning authorities and are available to owners, developers and architects, providing access to information which is fundamental to informed and sensitive planning decisions by all parties.

In addition to properties in the Register and designated conservation areas, the NMC has surveyed a number of towns or areas of them to assess the conservation-worthiness of individual properties and sites, and to serve as references in the daily operation of the various regional offices. To date at least 46 illustrated conservation surveys for towns and other areas throughout South Africa have been produced by the NMC and a number of independent researchers. **Conserva**

The Conserva database is in essence a computerised version of the files registered at each of the NMC's Regional offices using software known as RapidFile. Ideally all information contained in each individual NMC case file should also appear on the Conserva database. This database was designed to facilitate access to data kept on the hard copy case files, without having to physically refer to these files. Information in the database is stored in 125 fields, and includes the particulars of individual sites and buildings with which the NMC has been involved, such as address,

ownership details, conservation status, management information, and historical data, to name a few.

Although a powerful tool, problems associated with the computer hardware and a lack of staff to input data have meant that most regional offices have not found the use of this database time efficient, and have continued to use the case files housed in their registries. Informa

The Informa database, which also uses RapidFile, was designed to supplement the information stored in Conserva. It allows the rapid retrieval of specified sets of information for individual sites, such as colour slides, or architectural plans, and will also provide a list of all such material available for each site or property. The actual photographs, documents and graphic materials are stored in the files at the regional offices, and Informa provides retrieval information on their physical locations.

In the day to day business of cultural resource management performed by the regional offices of the NMC, the Informa database is an important tool and one which is in constant use. An indication of the amount of information stored in this database is reflected in the list of total number of entries per region listed in Table 1 (p. 40).

Architects in South Africa to 1940

This comprehensive directory of architects who worked in South Africa until the end of 1940, includes information on the buildings they designed. It was initiated as a biographical dictionary of Architects and Buildings in South Africa from 1780 to 1940 compiled by G M van der Waal, A Kuijers and J Walker for the Human Sciences Research Council in 1984, and was taken over by the NMC in 1993 so that it could be utilised electronically. Based on Paradox software, it is housed at the Pietermaritzburg regional office of the NMC and has been designed to incorporate feedback from users.

Architectural history in South Africa has been an academic and practical discipline for more than two hundred years and with the development of conservation awareness a database such as this one is of considerable assistance both locally and in neighbouring coutries. Architects who have worked in South Africa, for example, have also designed buildings in neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe and the details of their work are included in the database.

The database comprises every known architect or person in the habit of designing buildings who has been recorded as having worked in South Africa up to 1940. It includes some 2500 names and partnerships, the birth and death dates (or floruit dating), places they lived in, a brief biography, professional qualifications, awards, publications and sources of information and literature on the person. About 8000 buildings documented as having been designed by them have been listed, together with dates, addresses and erf numbers, status where known, names by which the building has been known, and source of information.

The programme is designed to allow the user to *interleaf* between two John Gribble

fields: ARCHITECTS and BUILDINGS. A specific building can be retrieved by NAME or ALTERNATE NAME, PLACE or STREET ADDRESS and the architect can be identified by an *interleaf* with the ARCHITECT field. Similarly, an architect can be retrieved by NAME and, via the *interleaf*, the user can retrieve the buildings he or she designed.

Shipwreck Database

The NMC has a comprehensive database on some 2000 shipwrecks along the South African coastline and within the 24 nautical mile limit of her territorial waters. The database was conceived and designed as both a research tool which could be consulted by the NMC when applications for permits for particular shipwrecks were received from divers, as well as a general source of information for the public.

The core of the database was a register compiled by the South African Library. It contained unverified historical information culled from archival sources and historical literature concerning shipwrecks along the South African coast. Using this as a basis, the NMC's database was designed in 1993/4 by Lynn Harris of the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, who was then employed by the NMC as its first Maritime Archaeologist. Further input was sought and received from the Archaeological Diving Unit (ADU) in Scotland, and the Royal Commission for Historical Monuments in England (RCHME) and the Nautical Archaeology Society (NAS) in

England to ensure that the proposed database would be compatible with similar systems internationally.

The master copy of the database is stored electronically at the NMC Head Office in Cape Town and runs on dBASE IV with a Paradox conversion. It is divided into three crossreferenced data registers, each of which deals with a different aspect of the conservation and management of the shipwreck heritage. These sections have 'been named the Historical Register, the Site Management Database and the Maritime Archaeological Database.

The Historical Register

The Historical Register is available to museums, libraries, and the general public. Copies may be consulted at the South African Library, where copies may be purchased on diskette, and at the South African Maritime Museum.

The Historical Register consists of historical information obtained from archival and secondary sources such as historical literature. It is divided into six regions - Namaqualand, Western Cape (including Table Bay), Cape Peninsula, Boland, Southern Cape, and Natal. Research is being conducted to complete the register for shipwrecks in the Eastern Cape which includes the former Ciskei and Transkei states.

The primary value of the database is that, although not complete, it constitutes a core of information upon which to base future research, and serves as a shipwreck register to which the NMC can refer when divers apply for permits.

The information fields include the following:

- * ship's name
- location of wrecking
- date of wrecking
- nationality of vessel
- * tonnage
- location where vessel was built
- last port of call
- destination
- number of crew
- owners
- * agents
- cargo
- commander
- goods salvaged in historical times
- literature references
- notes (additional information on the vessel and wrecking, NMC permit status, etc.)

The potential therefore exists for establishing the identity and date range of any wreck or site reported to the NMC, even if only one or two of the fields are known. For example, the cargo of a wreck may be better interpreted if the last port of call and destination are known, and the date and place of construction of the vessel help to identify structural remains that may be found underwater.

Site Management Database

The Site Management Database was designed to allow easy access to verified primary information on sites where archaeological and salvage projects have been conducted both under permit from the NMC and prior to the introduction of the permit system. As much of this information is confidential - particularly the geographical co-ordinates - it is not available to the general public except under special conditions, and with the consent of the donor or permit holder.

The data fields are the same as those on the NMC permit application form. Although some fields overlap with those on the Historical Register, the Site Management Database is designed to provide more detailed management data than is available from the Historical Register. For example, it includes the current condition of the wreck, the extent of the wreck site, geographical co-ordinates, the names of permit holders, dates of permits issued, permit expiry dates, research or salvage objectives, reports received, details of the collaborating museum, and information about artefact collections and where they are housed.

This information is used primarily by NMC staff, and constitutes an important management tool. Hard copy case files containing correspondence are cross-referenced with the database, as are any photographs, drawings and maps that relate to a site.

Maritime Archaeological Database

The third component of the Shipwreck Database is known as the Maritime Archaeological Database, and has two primary functions:

- to input preliminary verified archaeological information in a standardised format to allow for easy assessment, and;
- to double as a shipwreck survey recording form for archaeologists, salvors, permit holders, recreational divers, and members of avocational archaeology societies.

The shipwreck survey recording form is based on similar forms used

internationally. It is designed to be used by divers to record the presence or absence of site components, both structural and artefactual, as well as information about diving conditions, such as bottom substrate, visibility and current, and such things as the popularity of a specific site with divers. More technical information such as compass bearings, range marks on the shore, and specific locational readings is also requested.

The form fulfills a dual purpose. First, it is of educative value to divers as an observational exercise during the pre-disturbance phase of a salvage project or recreational dive, and encourages interest in the ship as an important artefact in itself as it specifies the type of preliminary information required for any underwater site. Second, the NMC is provided with valuable primary data on the wreck that can be used in their management. Like the Site Management section of the shipwreck database, the Maritime Archaeological section is also not available to the general public.

Victima (War Graves) Database

The primary function of the Victima database is as a management tool for the War Graves Division in carrying out its mandate to preserve and maintain these cultural resources. As a repository for historical data about those interred in South African war graves, the database also fulfils a research function through the provision of information to the public.

In its present form Victima contains in excess of 32 000 individual entries, each consisting of 20 information fields including:

- the location of the grave place name, site reference, 1:50 000 map sheet
- * historical background
- construction materials and the nature of gravestones and grave appurtenances
- a record of any inscriptions
- * photographs
- f name and address of the site owner
- existing servitudes
- arrangements for and record of maintenance work
- grave number
- surname and full christian names of person buried, where known
- regiment/unit/ship
- regiment number and rank
- place, date and cause of death
- additional information such as previous burials, age, alternative spellings of name, etc.
- site plan showing position of the graves or monument within the cemetery

The sources of this information are varied and range from historical literature and NMC records and index cards, to site inspections and information received from the public. Further information in the form of photographs and other pictorial material is stored on the NMC's Informa database, and presently stands 4500 entries, mainly from at cemeteries and individual gravestones. It is apparent from the above that although Victima contains an impressive number of entries, they represent only half of the known colonial war graves, and do not take to victims of other past conflicts in South Africa. This situation is a result of historical factors, such as the colonial past of the country and the more recent racial oligarchy that informed national policy in all spheres of South African life. The democratisation of South Africa has not been limited to the political arena however, and the proposed change of the name of the War Graves Division to Graves of Victims of Conflict represents a fundamental shift in the way in which not only the past, but the future of this country is viewed.

into account those graves that belong

The proposed new Graves of Victims of Conflict Division of the NMC will be responsible for previously neglected memorials and graves that relate to occurrences of conflict in South Africa's history. This is likely to include pre-colonial tribal conflicts, the black casualties in the Frontier wars⁴, the casualties of more recent conflicts such as the two World Wars⁵, the liberation struggle against apartheid and the political upheavals in South African townships as a result of apartheid.

Archaeological and Palaeontological Database

Over the past 100 years more than 60 000 archaeological and palaeontological sites have been recorded in South Africa, representing only a fraction of the total number of sites that actually exist in the landscape. Since successful heritage management relies on access to information, a centralised archaeological and palaeontological database is needed. It is planned in 1996/7, therefore, to establish a computerised relational database at the NMC for archaeological and palaeontological sites for which collection or excavation permits have been issued in the past. It will be based on the international core data standard for archaeological sites proposed by CIDOC.⁶

Although lists of permits issued are available, no centralised database has been built up either at the NMC or elsewhere in the country. Instead, there is a regional network of archaeological data recording centres at the McGregor Museum in the Northern Cape, the Albany Museum in the Eastern Cape, the Natal Museum in KwaZulu-Natal, the National Museum in the Free State, the National Cultural History Museum in Gauteng and the South African Museum in the Western Cape.⁷ Palaeontological databases are kept at the Bernard Price Institute for Palaeontological Research in Gauteng, at the Geological Survey and at all the larger museums in the country. Besides the museum-based records, a number of established databases exist at universities but these tend to be research driven and consequently specific in focus. The information in these regional recording centres can be accessed when required, although not electronically.

The NMC database will also include information on areas for which phase one impact assessments have been undertaken in terms of the requirements of Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), on archaeological and palaeontological sites that are

Table 1. Summary of databases maintained by the National Monuments Council

INFORMATION CATEGORY	ТҮРЕ	SOFTWARE	NUMBER OF ENTRIES	
NATIONAL MONUMENTS	List	WordPerfect	1 984 4 060 213	entries sites provisional
REGISTER OF CONSERVATION- WORTHY PROPERTY	List	WordPerfect	610	entries
CONSERVATION AREAS	List	WordPerfect	13	entries
CONSERVA Information on sites and buildings	Database	RapidFile	10 341 7 312 1 164 923 8 544 765 29 049	Eastern Cape Northern Cape Northern Region KwaZulu-Natal Free State/North- West
INFORMA Index to photographs, graphic materials and plans	Database	RapidFile	5 357 5 361 7 113 9 546 2 120	Western Cape Eastern Cape Northern Cape Northern Region KwaZulu-Natal Free State/North-West TOTAL
ARCHITECTS IN SOUTH AFRICA TO 1940 Directory of architects who worked in South Africa until the end of 1940, and their buildings	Database	Paradox	2 500 8 000	names and partnerships buildings
VICTIMA Information about military personnel and their dependants who died in S A between 1795 and 1914	Database	RapidFile	32 300 65 000	entries graves
SHIPWRECKS Comprises an historical register, a site management database and an archaeological database	Database	dBase IV	2 000 3 000	entries wrecks

declared as national monuments, and on those sites identified by the public as being in need of conservation and management.

Part of the rationale behind setting up such a national archaeological site inventory for planning purposes is based on the premise that we can apply the experience gained in the past to predict where sites may occur in areas that have not been surveyed. This will allow the assessment of the relative significance of sites and projects so that we can plan for site protection and management.

The first stage will involve computerisation of core data on sites for which NMC permits have been issued. This will allow the compilation of distribution maps or lists of sites, for example those that are open to the public in particular areas, sites that may have yielded information of general interest for educational purposes, or for the generation of distribution maps for public interest.

The second stage of the programme will involve discussions and liaison with other recording centres to select data on additional sites that need protection and which have been assessed using the same set of criteria for significance. This information would ideally be contributed electronically, and would be available to the regions on request. It is not envisaged that the NMC will compile a complete record of all archaeological and palaeontological sites, since this would duplicate information available at the regional centres. The curation of a simple index or list of all the recorded sites at a central location

such as the NMC however is a possibility that needs to be discussed.

The third and final stage would only be undertaken if deemed necessary, and would continue the development of criteria for the assessment of site significance used by Mazel⁸, Kaplan⁹ and Wahl.¹⁰ This information can be used to produce maps or lists identifying landscapes of high, medium, and low archaeological or palaeontological potential.

A selective inventory such as this, which is aimed quite clearly at public education and site protection and management, would not obviate the need for EIA surveys. All users of the system will be made aware of the fact that sites are selected because of their particular significance, and that they represent only a fraction of what has or will be discovered in any particular area. Surveys will therefore continue to be required, and the information gathered by such surveys must continue to be fed into the regional and national databases for research and management purposes.

Acknowledgements

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Conservation Policy for Heritage Sites in South Africa

Janette Deacon

Having identified heritage sites and then assessed their significance for listing in databases, the next stage in the conservation process is effective conservation management and protection. This is undoubtedly the most difficult stage to implement because it requires commitment on the part of the heritage agency, in this case the National Monuments Council, or an equivalent provincial or local authority, or a non-governmental organisation with an interest in conservation, as well as commitment on the part of the property owner or manager. The nature of this commitment should be both legal and financial. The sustainability depends in turn on the manner in which the property can 'pay for itself'. In the following chapters there are a few examples of conservation practice in South Africa that describe what heritage management methods were employed and why they worked or did not work. The examples are selected to cover the various forms of protection as well as a range of conservation-worthy properties. They are by no means exhaustive, yet reflect the changing priorities in South Africa in the 1990s.

Decisions taken during conservation practice are - or should be - based on

policy. Policy is developed both through local consultation and experience and through awareness of international trends. A policy should be a dynamic document that changes with changing needs and priorities so should be regularly up-dated. It should focus primarily on the best way to conserve and protect the places that the country has identified as its special heritage.

The conservation policy document of the South African National Monuments Council $(NMC)^1$ was ratified in 1994 as a guide for professionals, government departments, owners of national monuments and the public. It defines conservation as "all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance" and states that the aim of conservation is "to preserve, retain or recover the cultural interest of a place". Conservation of a place "must include provision for its maintenance and its future."

Policy for the Built Environment

The principles underlying the NMC policy are informed mainly by matters concerned with the built environment but their essential concerns apply equally well to archaeological and other sites. In essence, the following principles are adhered to in the policy:

- documentation is essential to any conservation work and must be placed in a permanent archive;
- * all buildings and their environments are products of their own time and show evidence of continuous historical development;
- revealing the fabric of one period *

 at the expense of another can
 therefore be justified only when
 what is removed is proven to be
 of slight cultural significance and
 the fabric which is to be revealed
 *
 is of much greater cultural
 significance;
- conservation of historical places requires the maintenance of * appropriate visual settings and contexts;
- conservation is based on respect for existing fabric and should involve the least possible intervention;
- * architectural features, elements or components which have deteriorated should be repaired rather than replaced, but where replacement is necessary, it should be based on historical evidence and match the original in composition, design, colour, texture and other visual qualities, and yet be distinguishable as new work;
- * conservation techniques should be traditional wherever possible;
- * where possible, intervention should be reversible so that if additions and alterations are * removed in future, the original fabric would again be visible;
- * contemporary design for new

buildings in an historical setting, and alterations and additions to existing properties, is encouraged if it does not disfigure valuable historical or architectural fabric and is compatible with the character and scale of the environs;

- the contents of historical places that form part of their cultural significance should not be removed unless this is the sole means of ensuring their survival; a building or work should remain in its historical location unless translocation is the sole means of ensuring its survival; and
- culturally valuable buildings should be occupied and used at all times.

The policy also considers the management of conservation-worthy properties in the built environment and notes that at local authority level it is dependent on three distinct factors: education, control and encouragement. All are essential to initiate and undertake conservation of the built environment in particular. The integrated system of conservation management that is recommended includes:

- a catalogue of conservationworthy buildings and sites;
- public participation in conservation, with a conservation advisory committee and conservation area committees drawn from the community;
- conservation by-laws and regulations for conservation areas and properties entered in the national register;

- a special consent procedure for local authorities so that only buildings that have been identified as of special importance are referred to the NMC;
- * conservation principles and * design guidelines; and
- incentives to encourage conservation such as departures and rebates and the establishment of revolving funds.

Policy on Graves

The NMC's policy includes a section on both war graves and civilian graves and graveyards of historical and cultural significance because such sites are increasingly threatened by inadequate maintenance, decay and pressure from land development. Guidelines for the removal or reinterment of graves specify the circumstances under which exhumation and re-burial may be necessary. In all cases human remains must be treated with respect and every attempt should be made to consult with relatives and descendants before graves are removed.

Policy for Archaeological and Palaeontological Sites

The policy for archaeological sites is based on a strategy that encompasses implementation of the legislation, regulation of activities conducted in terms of permits issued by the NMC, education of the general public, and motivation of planning authorities to protect archaeological resources. Conservation practice follows closely the guidelines adopted by the International Council on Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM)² that reflect the following

principles:

- The archaeological heritage is that part of the material heritage for which archaeological methods provide primary information.
- The archaeological heritage is a fragile and non-renewable cultural resource. Land use must therefore be controlled to minimise destruction by the integration of protective measures into planning policies and the active participation of the general public.
- Legislation should afford protection to the archaeological heritage and funds should be made available to implement the legislation.
- The protection of the archaeological heritage must be based on the fullest possible knowledge of its extent and nature, with inventories constituting the primary resource databases for scientific study and research.
- The over-riding principle in any archaeological investigation is that it should not destroy any more archaeological evidence than is necessary for the project. A full report is essential to any investigation.
- The overall objective of archaeological heritage management should be preservation of monuments and sites *in situ*, including long-term conservation and curation of all records and collections.
- It is recognised that cost factors limit the number of sites that can be maintained actively. A sample

Conservation Policy for Heritage Sites in South Africa

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of the diversity of sites and monuments should therefore be selected for public display, based on a scientific assessment of their significance and representative character. This sample should not be confined to the more notable and visually attractive monuments.

- The presentation of the archaeological heritage to the public is essential to the promotion of understanding of the origins and development of modern societies.
- Reconstructions should be carried out with great caution to avoid disturbing surviving archaeological evidence, and should take account of evidence from all sources in order to achieve authenticity. Where possible and appropriate, reconstructions should not be built immediately on the archaeological remains and should be identifiable as such.
- * High academic standards are essential in the management of the archaeological heritage. The training of qualified specialists should therefore be an important objective and standards should be established and maintained.
- The protection of the archaeological heritage is a process of continuous dynamic development. Time must therefore be made available to professionals to enable them to update their knowledge regularly.
- International co-operation is essential in developing and maintaining standards in archaeological heritage management.

Principles for cultural resources management (CRM) are closely allied to the needs of archaeological contract work and are set out in the NMC's pamphlet on Archaeology for Planners, Developers and Local Authorities.³ Briefly, the policy requires that:

- archaeological assessment of any major property development must be done at the earliest possible stage in the planning process; employment of a professional
- archaeologist to do the work is the responsibility of the developer;
- permission for the project to proceed will not be given by the NMC until it is satisfied that mitigation has been satisfactory; and
- any material recovered becomes the property of, and must be curated by, the museum or university specified in the permit, unless a pre-contractual agreement has been drawn up.

By-Laws for Archaeological and Palaeontological Permits

Conservation principles to ensure the proper management of archaeological and palaeontological resources are written into NMC regulations which require that all permit holders should: * personally supervise all

- excavations; * not remove more than half of the
- deposit during the course of any excavation unless the site is to be unavoidably destroyed;
- keep the excavation site tidy and fill in all excavations when the work is completed;

- keep an accurate written and photographic record of the excavation and of all artefacts or fossils recovered;
- keep an accurate record of the location of the site and of the situation of any excavations;
- place all material recovered in the care of a recognised heritage institution with proper curation facilities;
- label all material recovered in a responsible manner; and
- lodge a site record form with the relevant regional recording centre.
 Policy for Rock Art Sites

The nature of rock art sites encourages a different policy from that adopted for other archaeological sites and the built environment.

There is no doubt that our rock art heritage is fragile, has been recorded only patchily and is in need of research, protection and management. Any strategy for protection should therefore encompass policy, norms and standards and a programme of action to guide official national and regional rock art recording centres in the region.

Southern African governments have a heavy responsibility not only to ensure that rock art is understood, but also to protect it for the future and promote its aesthetic value. The rewards are that well managed rock art sites can play a major role in understanding the history of people in the sub-continent, in attracting tourism and in nation-building through the eradication of racial stereotypes. Some ideas for rock art sites are elaborated in Chapter Nine. A meeting of archaeologists responsible for the management of rock art databases at museums and universities in southern Africa was recently held in South Africa, sponsored by Unesco. The following management strategy was agreed. It has three main components:

- * **public education** for schools and tourists that will present rock art in an understandable manner and increase public appreciation and awareness of its value;
- conservation and management of rock art sites, through legislation and physical protection, to minimise damage caused by human impact; and
- management of information through research, site recording and databases.

The aim of the management strategy is to establish rock art as a vital historical and cultural resource that can be documented and developed to its full capacity for education and tourism, without causing damage. **Policy for Shipwrecks**

The NMC policy relating to shipwreck permits is based on the belief that the investigation of historical shipwrecks should be constrained by the same considerations that apply to the investigation of archaeological sites on land. The following guidelines are therefore used in the evaluation of permit applications:

Permits should be issued for *bona fide* research reasons and not for sport and recreation. Research problems and objectives should therefore be fully stated and

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motivated.

- Knowledge and experience in archaeological recording and excavation procedures underwater is required, together with a knowledge of material culture that will enable the permit holder to recognise the significance of artefacts recovered.
- Knowledge appropriate to the preservation and conservation of cultural materials from a marine environment is essential.
- * There must be a formal agreement between the permit holder and a recognised heritage institution to ensure proper management of finds and data.
- * A final report describing the completed project must be submitted and preferably published.
- Ideally, all material from wrecks older than 1850 should be kept together as a study collection, but if it is dispersed through the sale of items belonging to the permit holder, a record of the purchasers must be kept.

Changing Needs

The changing needs of heritage management in South Africa require that the NMC policy be up-dated, but it would be prudent to wait until the new legislation has been tabled in Parliament before this is done. Amongst the issues that will require consideration are policy on the mechanism for consultation with local communities when sites are considered for national monument or world heritage status; the policy for consideration of living heritage as a

vital part of the significance assessment procedure; and policy for in-house training of specialists in heritage site conservation.⁴

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 For further information on possible future issues for policy, see the Chapter on Heritage in the Report of the Arts and Culture Taks Group (ACTAG) to the Minister for Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, July 1995.

Protection of South Africa's Natural Heritage, with Particular Reference to Table Mountain

George Hofmeyr

Although the primary task of the National Monuments Council (NMC) is the statutory protection of objects or sites of historical, architectural or cultural importance, it is acutely aware of South Africa's rich and varied natural heritage.

Since 1934 with the inception of the Historical Monuments Commission, particular attention was initially given to the protection of elements of our natural heritage because nature conservation agencies in South Africa were not yet as well developed and organised as they are today. Even today such organisations do not concentrate on individual elements of natural importance or which do not form complete ecosystems.

To fill this gap, the Monuments Commission and to a lesser extent its successor since 1969, the NMC, proclaimed a wide range of natural objects or areas as national monuments. Amongst those of primarily botanical importance are the Dutch East India Company's gardens and a bitter almond hedge planted by the first commander at the Cape, Jan van Riebeeck. Both of these national monuments date from the seventeenth century and are situated in Cape Town. Historical avenue's, such as the oak avenues in Stellenbosch, Potchefstroom and Swellendam are likewise protected. The same applies to mangrove trees at Beachwood, Durban, and the so-called Modjadji cycads near Letaba. These rare botanical specimens are found within lush tribal land falling under the jurisdiction of Modjadji, traditionally known as the Rain Queen. Individual trees are sometimes protected for their historical importance, such as the milkwood or Fingo Tree near Peddie and the so-called Tree of Conspiracy near Bloemfontein.

Several parks in cities or large towns have also been declared as national monuments because of their environmental importance. They include the Arderne Public Gardens in Cape Town, as well as Springbok Park and Burger's Park in Pretoria and Queen's Park in East London.

A number of mountain passes have been similarly protected. They include the Bainskloof Pass near Wellington and the Montagu Pass near George. Even important waterfalls have been proclaimed, such as the Howick Falls in KwaZulu-Natal, as well as the Mac Mac Falls and the Horseshoe Falls in Mpumalanga Province.

The symbiosis between nature and

culture is often exemplified too by declared nature areas which have historical, cultural or archaeological significance. Examples in this respect include the Buck Bay farm in the Darling district with its internationally known nemesias and 'vygies' (mesems), apart from its historical farm complex on the picturesque seaside. In Ida's Valley near Stellenbosch about 15 000 ha of land, consisting of 21 farms with a wealth of historical buildings, have also been declared. Another noteworthy proclamation is the Melville Koppies Nature Reserve in Johannesburg with its Iron Age remains.

Since the earthquake in Tulbagh in 1969, there has been a significant shift to declare important building complexes as monuments, including their natural surroundings. Some of these group conservation projects are Church Street in Tulbagh, the historical core of Stellenbosch, the Donkin Terrace in Port Elizabeth, as well as the historical core of Graaff-Reinet and the entire villages of Kassiesbaai at Arniston, Matjiesfontein and Pilgrim's Rest. These objectives and principles also apply to conservation areas since 1986.

It must be stated too that the NMC increasingly endeavours to declare properties with historical structures in their entirety so that such buildings can be preserved in their natural context for future generations.

The National Monuments Council also prides itself on the declaration of several mountain areas as national monuments. The most noteworthy of these are Paarl Mountain, and Table

Mountain which towers over Cape Town. The conservation of Table Mountain, the largest national monument in South Africa, provides an excellent example of the NMC's involvement in the protection of a significant natural environment.

Since the late fifteenth century when the early Portuguese and Dutch navigators sailed around the Cape on the important trade route to and from the East, Table Mountain must have been a splendid sight in all its pristine glory. This would have been the case in 1503 when Antonio de Saldanha and some of his sailors made the first recorded ascent of the mountain and in 1601 when Joris van Spilbergen gave the self-explanatory name of Table Mountain to this natural bastion and gateway.

With Van Riebeeck's arrival in 1652 at the Cape, the main indigenous forests on Table Mountain were found on the moister eastern and southern flanks and in kloofs, including Orange Kloof. Most of these forests were stripped within a few decades for firewood and building purposes. In the course of time many structures were erected on the mountain that can all arguably be described as part of its cultural landscape. Some of these structures inevitably affected the natural character of the mountain and include five reservoirs and a tin mine.

Mainly because of the deforestation, the population growth and fires, large parts of Table Mountain had become barren towards the end of the nineteenth century. This led to an extensive afforestation programme, mainly consisting of pine forests. Even indigenous 'fynbos' was removed in the process. Other exotic trees and shrubs were introduced more or less at the same time and included bluegums and wattle species. The 'invaders' eventually destroyed much of the indigenous vegetation on the mountain. Around the turn of the nineteenth century a number of footpaths and eventually roads were constructed too, which were largely related to afforestation, fire-fighting, recreation and water requirements. Quarrying started taking its toll as well, the scars of which are still clearly visible.

A major development which obviously had a profound influence on Table Mountain was the opening of a cableway in 1929. This facility gave easy access for many visitors to the top of the mountain. Since 1929 about 11 million visitors have experienced the unique natural environment and vistas from the top.

The negative impact of the cableway was obviously caused by the increased human usage of the mountain, particularly on the so-called western table. There was already criticism at the time of the cableway's erection about the design and choice of site of the upper cableway station.

Despite conservation efforts, particularly by Cecil Rhodes who was actively involved as long ago as 1891 to protect the eastern aspect of the mountain through the acquisition of properties (including Kirstenbosch), it was clear by 1948 that this priceless heritage was in a neglected state. In August 1948 the South African Association of Arts discussed the desirability to proclaim Table Mountain as a national monument and decided to request the Government to appoint a commission of enquiry. When the subsequent campaign was launched, Gen. J.C. Smuts wrote *inter alia*:

We, as a nation, valuing our unique heritage, should not allow it to be spoiled or despoiled and should look upon it [Table Mountain] as among its most sacred possessions, part not only of the soil of South Africa, but of the soul of South Africa.

As a result of this public pressure, the Table Mountain Preservation Committee was appointed in 1950. It submitted a report in June 1951 in which the mountain area recommended for conservation was defined. This area broadly covered that part of the mountain above the 152 m contour line. The proclamation of the area as a national monument was recommended as well as the creation of a coordinating Board.

After its appointment in 1952 one of the Table Mountain Preservation Board's most important priorities was to raise funds for the acquisition of private property within the defined area of approximately 5516 ha. Due to limited success in this regard, the State, Provincial Administration and relevant local authorities eventually each contributed one-third of the acquisition costs. The Board was largely involved in the negotiations to buy these properties and to proclaim the area as a national monument. The largest part of the mountain was eventually proclaimed on 8 February 1957, with later extensions and amendments.

By-laws were published simultaneously in 1957 to enable the relevant authorities to carry on with routine maintenance work.

The Table Mountain Preservation Board played an important role in advising the Monuments Commission and the NMC. It provided a valuable forum too for co-ordinating the activities of all owners and organisations concerned with the conservation of Table Mountain. The Preservation Board ceased to exist in 1984.

The Board's activities were largely superseded by the Management Advisory Committee of the Cape Peninsula Protected Natural Environment (known as the CPPNE). Apart from Table Mountain the existing protected area was enlarged by the proclamation of the entire Cape Peninsula mountain chain of more than 30 000 ha as a nature area in terms of the Physical Planning Act of 1967. This again largely consisted of the area above the 152 m contour line. It is envisaged that the whole area, including Table Mountain, will soon form part of a National Park and will hopefully too become a World Heritage Site under the auspices of Unesco.

The declaration of Table Mountain has undoubtedly played a major role in the conservation of this unique natural area. It formed the impetus for combined efforts to stem the tide of the degradation of the mountain and for the initiatives to restore the area to its former ecological state as an integral part of one of the world's six floral kingdoms. The Monuments Council is indeed proud that most of the Cape Peninsula's 2 200-odd floral species are still found on Table Mountain. The nature conservation role played by the Monuments Commission and Monuments Council, especially earlier at a time when nature conservation agencies were not involved, is today widely recognised.

Without this legal protection, building developments would undoubtedly have permanently scarred large parts of the mountainside. During 1996 the National Monuments Council has also refused the proposed upgrading of the cableway facilities until the satisfactory completion of an environmental impact study. The Council therefore still acts as a watchdog, and welcomes the proposal that Table Mountain should form part of a National Park.

The National Monuments Council is indeed proud of its long involvement in the conservation of Table Mountain as a world-renowned national monument. The role of the local authorities under whose ownership the mountain fall also cannot be over-emphasized as far as aspects such as the clearing of alien vegetation, the prevention of fires and the restoration of 'fynbos' are concerned. The subsidies received from the State and the local Provincial Administration over the years, especially for the acquisition of private properties, greatly assisted too in preserving this unique part of South Africa's common heritage which is increasingly enjoyed and appreciated as a tourist attraction and recreational area.

Case Studies of Conservation Practice at Archaeological and Palaeontological sites

Janette Deacon

As heritage conservation agencies all over the world know only too well, archaeological and palaeontological sites are being destroyed on a daily basis in a fraction of the time that it took for them to form. While some of this destruction is the inevitable result of the continuing cycle of natural erosion that led to their formation in the first place, there is no doubt that the human factor is a major scourge. It is also true to say that no country has found a recipe to protect all archaeological and palaeontological sites effectively from land develop-ment or from human ignorance and wilful desecration.

Legislation in South Africa may be adequate in theory, but government commitment in the form of staff and resources to implement the law has been sadly lacking. Numerous reasons have been put forward for this reluctance (see Chapter Nine for an example), but South Africa is not alone in this predicament. Unlike the built environment where buildings that are renovated can be expected to generate enough income to repay the renovator, projects to conserve archaeological and palaeontological sites are often more akin to the proverbial bottomless pit into which one throws money but can never retrieve either the capital or the interest. The challenge is to build public concern and marry this with sustained commitment of management and resources.

The following case studies give a glimpse of the range of conservation issues that must be addressed and detail some failures and successes.

Palaeontological sites

All fossils sites are protected by the National Monuments Act, but only three have been formally declared national monuments. Motivation for declaration was in all cases as a result of recommendations made to the NMC by professional geologists or palaeontologists who were concerned about the need for physical protection of the sites. All three are fossil footprints or tracks which cannot easily be transported from their present position for conservation in museums. They therefore pose a special problem but solutions, although theoretically possible, have not been implemented satisfactorily.

Pre-dinosaur vertebrate tracks near Fraserburg in the central Karoo (Fig. 1) are in the process of being declared a national monument. They are in a siltstone of the Lower Beaufort Group

Case Studies of Conservation Practice at Archaeological and Palaeontological Sites

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Fig. 1. Vertebrate tracks at Fraserburg. (Photo: J. Deacon)

that date to the Permo-Triassic or about 250 million years. Despite the fact that the Lower Beaufort is rich in vertebrate fossils, tracks have rarely been found and this site has the most complete and largest range yet discovered. There are also fish and arthropod trails and sedimentary structures that give an idea of the micro-environment at the time the tracks were made.1 Situated just below a dam wall, the tracks were damaged when the dam wall broke after heavy rains. The siltstone is fragile and the new dam wall has

therefore been strengthened. The tracks have been carefully mapped and casts have been taken by palaeontologists at the South African Museum.

In spite of management proposals and guidelines for conservation drawn up by the NMC, the local municipality and guides have not taken seriously the warnings that the surfaces should not be walked on. They offer a bad example to other visitors who also persist in walking on the surfaces and the tracks are being damaged both in this manner and by natural erosion. Funding is being sought for a wooden boardwalk to improve visitor control, but unless the local tourism body is prepared to implement proper controls, the tracks will be damaged irreparably.

The track site near Maclear in the Eastern Cape Province is in the Molteno Formation of the Karoo sequence of Late Triassic age (200 million years) and as such provides the earliest evidence for dinosaurs in this part of the world.² The Molteno Formation formed before the breakup of the super-continent Pangaea into the southern continent of Gondwana-land and the northern continent of Laurasia. Most of the early dinosaur fossils come from the Elliott Formation that overlies these tracks. The best preserved tracks are from a smallmedium sized theropod, probably Grallator, an evolutionary ancestor of today's birds. An indistinct footprint and 'tail drag' of the four-footed prosauropod, Massospondylus, the predecessor of the giant Brontosaurus of the Jurassic Period, may also be present.

The site was declared a national monument in November 1990 and was marked with a badge and bronze information plaque. As the tracks are on a flat horizontal surface in the bed of the Pot River, a low wall was constructed to stop water running over them and paint was used to outline them to make them more easily visible to visitors. However, after heavy rains mud from the river bank was washed into the river bed and covered the tracks because the wall prevented the normal flow of the river from washing the mud downstream. A second low wall was therefore constructed close to the river bank to prevent the mud covering the tracks again. It became necessary a few years later for the landowner to restrict access to the site by making it necessary for visitors to obtain a key to the gate. The absence of a caretaker on site contributed to the fact that visitors were breaking down the river bank and walking on the footprints.

A similar conservation problem was encountered at Pont Drift on the south bank of the Limpopo River in the Northern Province. Here the dinosaur tracks are at an angle of about 27 degrees in sandstone which was later covered by basalt. The tracks are of Upper Triassic or Lower Jurassic age (about 180 million years old) and were made by four or more different reptile species, including Massospondylus, Tetrasauropus and Syntarsus.³ They were numerous and very clearly preserved when declared a national monument in 1972, but careless visitors have walked over them,

These case studies are alarming in the message they convey: that without boardwalks or walkways, clear information boards and on-site caretakers with sufficient motivation to enforce management guidelines, it is better to restrict access to such sites when they are declared national monuments.

despite a notice requesting them not to do so. By 1980 most of the surface had been damaged so badly that the tracks were barely visible.

Archaeological sites

Archaeological sites vary greatly in their vulnerability, depending on the type of deposits involved and the extent of visitor traffic. South Africa, as part of the biogeographic province of the extinct australopithecines or 'southern apes', the immediate ancestors of the earliest species of the genus Homo, has been inhabited by toolmaking people for nearly two million years. Although there are more than 50 000 archaeological sites on record at regional archaeological data recording centres, this is only a small fraction of the actual number of places where people lived in precolonial times. Even if only one site per year of occupation has been preserved, there should be well over a million sites in the country. Some indication of the richness can be gauged from the detailed survey of some 5000 sq km in the Seacow Valley in the Eastern Cape undertaken by Sampson from 1979-1981.⁴ His team located more than sixteen thousand Stone Age sites dating to the past 500 000 years.

Of the 40 sites that have been declared national monuments in South

Africa because of their archaeological importance, just over half were declared in the first 15 years after declaration was made possible by legislation in 1934. From the early 1950s, the policy of the Commission changed because it was believed that declaration would add little to the legal protection afforded by the Act in terms of the section which required that a permit be obtained to destroy or damage archaeological sites. The main reason for the declaration of archaeological sites after 1950 was to give them added protection against, for example, road building or mining, or to acknowledge their particular contribution to the history of humankind. Ironically, declaration has proved to be detrimental in many cases because of the negative impact of visitors. This has been most noticeable at rock art sites. Here, as elsewhere in the world, the human impact both accelerates and overtakes the process of natural erosion making visitor management the single most important factor in site protection.

The non-renewable nature of archaeological sites and rock art in particular underscores the need for effective management plans and site monitoring, as is illustrated in the following examples.

Early hominid sites

The Sterkfontein valley near Krugersdorp in Gauteng Province has been the richest source of australopithecine fossils in the world. It has produced more than half the total number of known individuals assigned to the genera Australopithecus and Paranthropus. They have come from

the sites of Swartkrans, Sterkfontein, Kromdraai, Gladysvale and Drimolen since the 1930s. Two other fossil sites, Taung in the North-West Province and Makapansgat in the Northern Province have also yielded australopithecines. The fossil skull and brain case of the Taung child is the type specimen of Australopithecus africanus discovered in 1924 and described by Raymond Dart. When South Africa becomes a signatory to the World Heritage Convention, these sites will be placed on the tentative list for consideration for world heritage status.

Swartkrans, Sterkfontein, Kromdraai and Makapansgat are declared national monuments and, with the exception of Kromdraai, are owned and managed by the University of the Witwatersrand. Taung is in the process of being declared. Research and excavation are on-going at Sterkfontein and Gladysvale under the direction of Emeritus Professor Phillip Tobias and the Palaeo-Anthropology Research Unit at the University of the Witwatersrand, while excavations at Kromdraai are being undertaken as a joint project between the Transvaal Museum and Harvard University.

All these australopithecine sites were discovered in the course of lime mining in the 1920s and 1930s. The lime accumulated as flowstone and partially filled underground solution cavities later exposed at the surface by erosion. The cavities provided ideal hiding places for carnivores and other animals such as porcupines that collect bones. Bones from carnivore kills in the vicinity were also part of the debris washed in from the surrounding

land surface. Lime preserves bone and, over periods of hundreds of thousands of years, the bones have become fossilized.

Both australopithecines and, later, early humans probably sheltered in the solution cavities as well and there is evidence at Swartkrans of the use of fire by people about one million years ago as some bones have been burnt.

In comparison with other archaeological sites, management of most of the early hominid sites has been relatively successful in that no major damage has been done by careless or unauthorised people, beyond the initial mining operations that led to the discovery of the fossils in the first place. This is partly because the fossils are imbedded in the matrix and are not easily damaged or dislodged, but a more important factor is that public access is controlled. There are guided tours at Sterkfontein and the other sites in the same valley are open to the public only during organised visits supervised by an archaeologist or palaeontologist.

Problems have arisen at Makapansgat and Taung, however, where public access is less well controlled and fossils have been removed without a permit, but the incidents were relatively minor in the case of Taung and were dealt with in a suitable manner in the case of Makapansgat. Stone Age Sites

For the sake of convenience, archaeologists recognise three main phases within the two million-year history of toolmaking in southern Africa: the Earlier Stone Age (ESA), the Middle Stone Age (MSA) and the

Cape.

Later Stone Age (LSA). Earlier Stone Age

The Earlier Stone Age (ESA) represents the period from the earliest stone tools found in the Sterkfontein valley and along the Vaal River nearly 2 000 000 years ago until 200 000 to 150 000 years ago. Earlier Stone Age people - usually referred to the taxon Homo erectus or archaic Homo sapiens - were living in South Africa for nearly a million years before some individuals moved out of Africa and northwards into Europe. A spectacular feature of the ESA is the astonishing quantity of artefacts that have accumulated at particular sites in the landscape. Such sites have been found in a wide range of habitats from desert environments to spring sites and river gravels along the major watercourses. Their importance has often been overlooked because they are difficult to date and, except in a few unusual circumstances, are not associated with human, faunal or floral remains that may give information about dating and the lifestyle of the toolmakers.

Eight ESA sites have been declared national monuments in South Africa and there are over 800 listed in archaeological databases at museums and universities in the country. Management of ESA sites declared as national monuments has had a variable history, for example at Canteen Kopje near Barkly West in the Northern

The Earlier Stone Age site at Canteen Kopje is situated on an old river terrace of the Vaal River a few kilometres from the town of Barkly West in the Northern Cape Province.

The artefacts occur in great abundance in a layer several metres thick below an overburden that is up to 6 m thick in places. The site is one of a dozen or more that were encountered in the course of mining for alluvial diamonds in the early part of this century and was declared a national monument in 1948 to preserve *in situ* a piece of the terrace and its content as a typical example of its kind.

The 8 ha property is fenced and until 1990 a smaller fenced area within it displayed a range of stone artefacts laid out on a low mound. A more detailed display can be seen by visitors to the municipal museum in Barkly West. The NMC entered into an agreement with the McGregor Museum in Kimberley to pay regular visits to the site in return for a small fee, but this practice became redundant when the NMC set up a regional office in Kimberley.

Small-scale mining of river gravels on the Vaal River terraces has become popular recently with easier access to earthmoving equipment for hire. Two companies have petitioned the NMC for permission to excavate the national monument at Canteen Kopje. Despite undertakings by the miners that they will 'put everything back the way it was' after they have sorted the gravels for diamonds, the NMC has remained adamant that permits to excavate the deposits will be given only to professional archaeologists with a research interest in the site.

The value of the site was explained during a public forum by Sephai Mngqolo and David Morris of the McGregor Museum in Kimberley, but the miners themselves were not convinced and have come to believe that the NMC is deliberately concealing a wealth of diamonds from them. Further forums will be arranged to counteract this perception, but in the meantime the legal protection offered by the declaration of the site as a national monument is sufficient to prevent mining taking place. *Middle Stone Age*

The next major stage in the early history of people in southern Africa is known as the Middle Stone Age (MSA) when the handaxes, cleavers and picks so characteristic of the ESA were replaced by smaller unifacially and bifacially worked tools, triangular flakes with prepared platforms, and blades. Our dating of the technological transition in southern Africa is fuzzy, but the change took place in most areas by at least about 200 000 or 150 000 years ago. The most obvious difference in lifestyle is the exponential increase in the use of caves and rock shelters which resulted in the substantial build-up of occupation deposits, often several metres thick.

Human remains dated to between 120 000 and 100 000 years ago at Klasies River, Florisbad and Border Cave in South Africa show that people living in Southern Africa at this time were anatomically modern, in contrast to their Neandertal contemporaries in Europe. The earliest anatomically modern fossils known in Europe appear only 40-50 000 years later. There seems little doubt that modern Europeans and Asians are descended from a common African ancestor population that evolved as early or earlier in southern and eastern Africa than in other parts of the continent.⁵

The behaviour of MSA people was probably modern in the sense that they organized their living space and used methods of hunting and collecting that were more similar to those of the Later Stone Age (LSA) than to those of the ESA.⁶

The earliest dated rock art in Africa, from Apollo 11 rock shelter in southern Namibia, is associated with late MSA artefacts with a median date of about 27 500 BP.⁷ There are about 1000 Middle Stone Age sites on record at South African institutions and four of these have been declared national monuments.

Stabilization of sections at Border Cave

Border Cave, on the border between Swaziland and KwaZulu-Natal, contains a long MSA sequence and fossil remains of early modern *Homo sapiens* about 100 000 years old.⁸ The deposits are fine and powdery and the large-scale excavations undertaken there since the 1930s, initially to remove guano and later to investigate the archaeological deposits, left sections that were in danger of collapse.

In response to a potential loss of deposit, the KwaZulu Monuments Council, under the direction of Len van Schalkwyk⁹, designed a solution that could be applied elsewhere as well.

Parents and pupils from the local school were paid to fill woven bags, made of synthetic fibre, with sand from the nearest river. The bags were transported to the top of the hill by truck, and local women undertook to carry them into the cave which cannot be reached by vehicle. The sandbags were packed against the sections and into the excavated area. The entire surface of the excavated area was then covered with geotextile that was anchored by sandbags around the perimeter. A fence with a locked gate has been erected across the mouth of the cave to prevent animals from entering.

Later Stone Age

Although some earlier dates have been recorded, the change from the Middle to the Later Stone Age (LSA) took place over most of Southern Africa between 35 000 and 20 000 years ago. The transition is marked not only by a general diminution in the size of stone tools, but also by the addition of polished bone artefacts, decorative items such as bone and shell beads, engraved ostrich eggshell flasks, rock engravings and paintings, tortoiseshell bowls, bored stones and the bow and arrow.

There are no human fossils from the time range of the MSA/LSA transition anywhere in southern Africa, but by 10 000 years ago the practice of burying the dead in rock shelters was relatively common in the southern part of South Africa. A few sites such as Matjes River rock shelter have yielded up to 40 individuals over a 10 000year time span. These individuals were clearly ancestral to the San and Khoekhoe who lived in South Africa in recent times.

The coastal zone was particularly favoured by Later Stone Age people



Fig. 2. Matjes River Rock Shelter showing the boardwalk between the shell midden and rock shelter wall. Sand bags are stacked against the midden at the curve of the boardwalk.

who made use of the fish and shellfish resources. Open shell middens are especially vulnerable to coastal development and many sites have been destroyed without adequate mitigation. There are over 3000 Later Stone Age sites on record at South African institutions. Three of these have been declared national monuments and three more are in the process of being declared.

Matjes River Rock Shelter:

A 10 000-year old shell midden

The Matjes River rock shelter is on private property and was declared a national monument in 1960 after a large portion of the shell midden back wall in a series of excavations conducted from the 1920s to the 1950s. Situated close to the beach, the midden is probably one of the largest of its kind. It built up through fairly continuous occupation of the rock shelter from 10 000 to about 1000 years ago and was one of the first sites in southern Africa to be radiocarbon dated. It is also of considerable scientific interest because of the more than 40 human burials found there, one of which was covered by a painted stone estimated to be about 7000 years old.

deposit had been removed along the

The NMC appointed a caretaker who

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was present on site at weekends and during school holidays. Unfortunately, when he died in the mid-1970s, funds were not available for a replacement and the fence and noticeboard were broken by vandals.

In 1993, the NMC began a project in collaboration with the Department of Archaeology at the University of Stellenbosch with a research grant from the LSB Leakey Foundation in California. Test excavations were conducted to check the depth of the midden and to date key levels so that a better control could be obtained on the age of the deposits. This showed that natural erosion and trampling of the top of the midden since the 1950s had removed some 4000 years of deposit from the top of the sequence.

A further grant-in-aid from the Gold Fields Foundation and local business people has enabled the NMC, with assistance from Cape Nature Conservation, to erect information boards and a boardwalk.

A major concern, however, has been the stabilisation of the standing sections of the old excavations which are some 6 m high in places. This has been done with sandbags enclosed in geotextile that have been stacked in steps against the sections.¹⁰

The end of the Later Stone Age saw the introduction of a new economy: pastoralism. Khoekhoe-speaking hunter-gatherers in Botswana and Zimbabwe acquired domesticated sheep and cattle from Iron Age farmers a little more than 2000 years ago and some groups moved southwards into South Africa. They were also responsible for introducing pottery into South Africa. The early dates for pottery at Bambata in Zimbabwe in the late first millennium BC give a *terminus post quem* for the migration. Radiocarbon dates of a little more than 2000 BP from southern Angola, Namibia and Spoegrivier in Namaqualand¹¹ suggest that this southward migration was relatively rapid.

There are no national monuments in South Africa that have been declared specifically to record the presence of Khoikhoi herders but there are more than 20 sites dating to the first millennium AD with sheep and cattle remains in Later Stone Age contexts. *Rock Art*

The numerous rock art sites of southern Africa, mostly associated with the Later Stone Age but with a significant number linked to Iron Age and recent communities, are of outstanding quality. Apart from their antiquity, both the rock paintings and rock engravings (Fig. 3) provide clear evidence for the ideology and religious practices of indigenous people over a period of almost 30 000 years.

Research by Lewis-Williams¹² and others has used ethnography to explain metaphors in the rock art and to emphasise the bond between the artists and the landscape in which they lived and worked.¹³ Recording of the art has been patchy, however, and there has been no comprehensive survey of rock art databases since the 1940s.¹⁴

A conservative estimate of the number of sites in South Africa alone would put the total at about 15-20 000 as there are already records of more than 12 000 sites in provincial

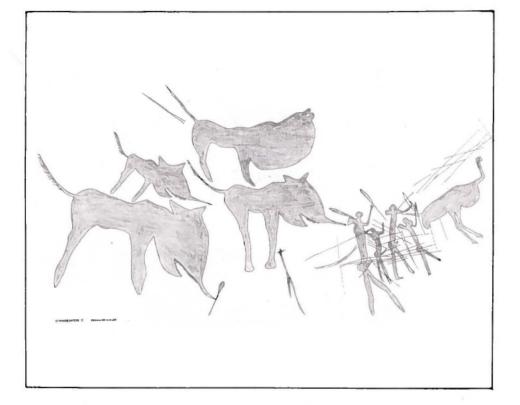


Fig. 3. Tracing of a rock engraving from the Northern Cape illustrating the non-realistic nature of the images.

databases. Ten of these are declared national monuments and two are in the process of being declared.

Amongst archaeological heritage sites, those with rock art are perhaps the most vulnerable to vandalism. Surveys of small geographic areas in South Africa suggest that as many as 10 per cent of sites are damaged in some way, especially if they are easily accessible to the public and are not adequately protected.¹⁵

It is unfortunate that rock art has not been promoted more imaginatively and some excellent ideas are offered in Chapter Nine. Removing Graffiti at Rock Painting Sites

The NMC has been concerned about the damage done by people who write their names or slogans over or near to rock paintings. Graffiti not only attract more graffiti, but also detract from the beauty of the paintings. Although in some instances the graffiti are better left alone, in most cases the visitor experience is enhanced if graffiti are removed.

After a visit in 1990 from Andrew Thorn, who demonstrated graffiti cleaning techniques used in Australia, the NMC has trained a small team of staff members who are interested and willing to work over weekends. With a grant-in-aid from the Swan Fund in Oxford, as well as financial support from the NMC, the team has cleaned 21 sites in the past six years, most of them in the Western Cape.

The principles applied to graffiti removal are that:

- all graffiti and adjacent rock paintings are recorded before the graffiti are removed, the surfaces are photographed before and after removal, and a full record is kept of the removal techniques employed;
- the least invasive techniques are used first, and only if they are ineffective are other methods applied;
- graffiti that cannot be removed with distilled water and a rolling poultice and that directly overlie rock paintings, are not removed at all;
- original rock paintings are never 'touched up'; and
- wherever possible, the owners or managers of sites that have been cleaned are encouraged to adhere to the NMC's guidelines for rock art sites open to the public by providing supervision and visitor controls.

After recording the paintings and graffiti, gentle brushing is the first stage, followed by distilled water applied with a rolling poultice. These methods are effective for charcoal which in our experience is used in 80% of cases. Where commercial paint is involved, Stephen Bassett has developed a sand blasting device

operated with compressed air and a generator that can be carefully controlled. All rock paintings are covered with plastic sheeting before the sand blasting to protect them from dust. It is sometimes necessary to reintegrate sand-blasted surfaces using coloured earth or acrylic paint, but this is necessary in only a few cases and only on surfaces that do not have rock paintings.

The NMC and other organisations have distributed pamphlets, have published articles in the media and have assisted with radio and television programmes on the value of rock art and the need for conservation, but the reaons for vandalism are so varied that it will undoubtedly remain a problem.

A salutary lesson in this regard was learned in 1993 when the names of people written in charcoal were removed from a rock painting site at Modderpoort in the Free State that is a declared national monument. After consultation with the local mission station and school, it was brought to our attention that the names had been written there by Christian pilgrims from Lesotho and South Africa. The association of the rock shelter with the nearby mission had led to the belief that the site was sacred. Names were written on the rock paintings by people who wished their prayers to be heard. Sven Ouzman of the National Museum in Bloemfontein is investigating the matter in more detail. Iron Age Sites

Although farming is attested in southern Kenya from the second millennium BC, it is not until the early first millennium AD that we have archaeological visibility of ironusing farmers in the northern and eastern areas of South Africa¹⁶. The relatively rapid immigration of Bantuspeaking peoples into southern Africa from central and eastern Africa over a period of about two hundred years must rate as one of the most significant events in the history of the subcontinent. The so-called Iron Age cultures that this migration brought with it had far-reaching consequences not only for the indigenous Khoisan people, but also for local environments affected by settlement patterns, agricultural activities, mining and smelting.

More than 2000 Iron Age sites are listed in provincial databases in South Africa. Of these, 14 have been declared national monuments and two are in the process of declaration.

After about AD 900, an interest in gold and ivory from traders on the east coast contributed to the establishment of Late Iron Age settlements such as Great Zimbabwe and Khami (both World Heritage Sites) in Zimbabwe, Toutswemogala in Botswana, Manyikeni in Mozambique, and Mapungubwe and Thulamela in the Northern Province of South Africa. *Mapungubwe*

One of the best known of the declared national monuments is the hilltop site of Mapungubwe with its associated southern terrace and the valley site of K2 or Bambandynalo. Declared in 1983 and 1984, they are situated on the Limpopo River on the farm Greefswald on the northern border of South Africa. They represent successive settlements that served as

commercial centres controlled by powerful rulers who affirmed their status with material symbols of power and rituals of chieftainship. The archaeological investigation of the sites began in the 1930s with excavations by Professor Leo Fouché of the University of Pretoria and the university's staff and students have continued to lead the research there ever since. Under the direction of Professor J F Eloff and Professor A Meyer, measures have been taken since 1973 to protect the stratified deposits. In 1992 a new heritage management programme was initiated that includes an inventory of all finds, reports and photographic documentation.17

Excavations at K2, dating from about AD 900, yielded a unique collection of ivory artefacts and ornaments, as well as large quantities of imported glass beads obtained from traders on the east coast of Africa. This site declined as Mapungubwe, the 'Hill of the Jackals', rose to power around AD 1100 to become the capital of a trading empire that later moved to Great Zimbabwe. Gold replaced ivory as the most prestigious item that was traded for glass beads, cloth and Chinese celadon ware through contacts that extended to Sofala, Kilwa and indirectly to Arabia, India and China. The top of Mapungubwe hill included a burial ground for the elite. The graves contained quantities of gold beads, iron body ornaments, earthenware pottery and glass trade beads. There were also bowls, a 'sceptre' and figurines, including parts of two rhino, made of gold foil fixed

onto sculpted wood with gold pins. Together this collection is the largest of its kind in South Africa and it is in the process of being declared a national cultural treasure.

The strategic position of Mapungubwe on the Limpopo River led to it becoming incorporated into a border zone in the late 1970s and 1980s that was controlled by the South African Defence Force. This meant that public access to the sites was strictly controlled and they benefitted accordingly. However, as from 1996 the farm Greefswald has been incorporated, along with a large number of adjacent properties, into a nature reserve that will be controlled by the National Parks Board. An impact assessment is being done and a management plan will shortly be drawn up in consultation with local communities and other interested and affected parties. It will be important to ensure that proper controls are in place before the sites are visited by tourists.

Mapungubwe will probably be nominated for world heritage status together with similar sites in the region.

Rebuilding Thulamela

The Late Iron Age site at Thulamela in the northernmost part of the Kruger National Park is an example of a stone-walled hill-top village built between the foureenth and seventeenth centuries AD by the ancestors of the Venda people who live in the region today. Although younger than Great Zimbabwe, it is in the same tradition as Khami but is smaller in scale.

It is more recent than Mapungubwe, but has clear links with it. For example, a few gold beads and evidence of gold working have been found in a midden at the site. The importance of gold was confirmed recently with the discovery of a chief's burial richly decorated with gold beads and iron ornaments.¹⁸ Furthermore, fragments of Chinese porcelain have been found during excavations at the site indicating contact with east coast traders. A large number of spindle whorls and iron needles have also been found giving evidence for a local cloth industry.¹⁹

evidence for a local cloth industry.¹⁹ More importantly from the conservation point of view, Thulamela is an example of a site that is well managed within a national park with potential for development for tourism and environmental education purposes, but which would not be easily understood by the average visitor unless it was reconstructed. Although not a declared national monument, it is protected in terms of the National Monuments Act and may not be altered without a permit. After consultation in 1993 with local

After consultation in 1993 with local Venda and Shangaan community leaders, the National Parks Board, museum specialists and the archaeologists investigating the history of the site, the NMC granted a permit for the ruined walls to be reconstructed. It was agreed that no new stone would be added. Only original fabric in the form of stone found in the immediate vicinity of the collapsed walls would be used in re-building. After the vegetation had been cleared, it took the team of five men fourteen months to re-build 350 m of dry stone walling that ranged from one to three metres

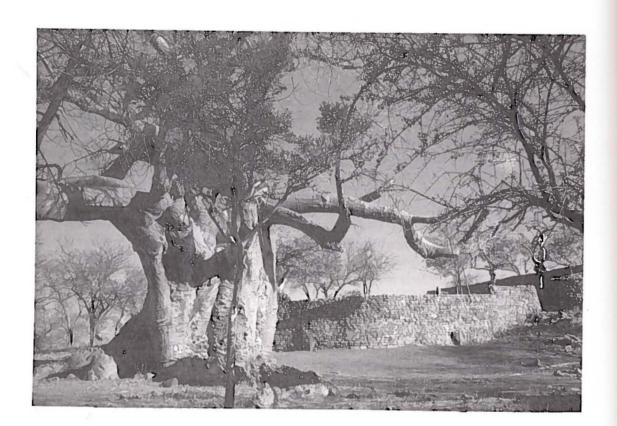


Fig. 4. Reconstructed walls at Thulamela. (Photo: J. Deacon)

in height (Fig. 4). Some 2400 cu m of rocks were handled after each stone had been sorted according to whether it was originally used as a facing stone or for filling the core of a wall.²⁰

With funding from the Gold Fields Foundation, under the direction of archaeologist Sidney Miller, and informed by Professor Tom Huffman who has a thorough knowledge of similar sites in South Africa and Zimbabwe, a team of local people has acquired considerable skill in the course of the programme of reconstruction. Not only has the site been made more interesting, but the team has successfully revived stone building techniques that would otherwise have been lost.

The results have been rewarding for several reasons. The layout of the site can be more easily appreciated, it provides a unique learning experience for students, and the further collapse of the walls has been arrested.

Although one may not recommend rebuilding of all sites of this kind, in this instance it has been an unqualified success and gives Thulamela the distinction of being the oldest restored building in South Africa.²¹

Later stone-walled settlements in South Africa in the Free State, Northern, Gauteng and North-West provinces²² date from about the fifteenth century AD and can be related to modern ethnic and language groups.

Mgungundhlovu

The nineteenth century Zulu leader, Dingane, built his royal kraal at Mgungundhlovu after the death of his brother, Shaka, in 1828. The site has a commanding view and the main entrance faces towards the burial place of Nkosinzulu, the founder of the Zulu dynasty. The layout of the kraal was roughly oval with the royal enclosure or *isigodlo* on the far side opposite the main entrance. The two 'horns' on either side of the entrance housed nine military impis.

Several English traders from Port Natal (now Durban) visited Dingane (Fig. 5) and a missionary, the Rev. Francis Owen was allowed to set up a mission station nearby. In 1837, Piet Retief visited to request a grant of land on which his followers, the Voortrekkers, could settle. He returned early in 1838 with a gift of cattle but he and his companions were murdered by Dingane's impis. Before other Voortrekkers could avenge the death of Retief, Dinagane burnt Mgungundhlovu to the ground and never returned.

The burning of the kraal led to the baking of the clay hut floors making them easily identifiable during archaeological investigations there in 1974/75.²³ The kraal was declared a national monument in 1936 and has been reconstructed to serve as a film set and successful tourist venue.

Cultural and Spiritual Landscapes Amongst both stone-walled and



Fig. 5. A sketch of Dingane's capital at Mgungundlovu drawn by the English missionary, Gardiner, in the late 1830s.

other Iron Age sites closely connected to historical and modern communities with strong oral traditions, there are some good examples of associated cultural landscapes that have powerful spiritual connotations. One of these is Modjadji's cycad forest on a hillslope in the foothills of the northern extension of the Drakensberg mountains in the Northern Province. Modjadji, widely known as the Rain Queen, is the hereditary chief of the Lobedu.²⁴

The capital, mosatha, is the largest settlement in the district and is both the royal residence and the political centre. The approach to the capital is along an avenue lined with debarked pointed poles and shady trees. The avenue opens into the $kg\hat{o}r\hat{o}$, a circular space some 33 m in diameter, also

lined by a palisade of debarked poles. Most of these poles have pointed ends, some forked or branched, and a relatively small number are carved to represent human figures, stylised animals or utensils.

The site of the capital was given protection from possible malevolent forces by the use of special medicines applied to a series of pegs that were buried many years ago around the perimeter of the village. The threshold of the main entrance is also spiritually protected.

The care of the nearby cycad forest, declared a national monument in 1936, is entrusted to Modjadji and the Lobedu by ancestral spirits. Misfortune will befall the community if the forest is desecrated. Although it has not been documented because of the veil of secrecy surrounding the rain making tradition, there is some suggestion that the cycads assist in rain making.²⁵

At present, Modjadji's capital falls within a reserve but there are no legal measures in place for its protection beyond the limits of the cycad forest. Since the early 1980s the capital has been made more accessible with an improved road and electricity and there has consequently been a marked increase in residential population. Although the $kg\hat{o}r\hat{o}$ is still used for ceremonial purposes, its significance has shifted.²⁶ The changing nature of the relationship between the cycad forest and Modjadji's capital gives an interesting dimension to the conservation of both the physical aspects of this spiritual landscape as well as to the associated oral

traditions.

Another place with spiritual significance is the Venda site of Dzata, also in the Northern Province. This stone walled settlement was declared a national monument in 1938, but was left as a ruin for many years.²⁷

Dzata is regarded as the ancestral home of the Venda as it was here that the legendary hero Thoho-ya-Ndau established his capital. Dzata has powerful association in Venda legend with Lake Fundudzi, an inaccessible and crocodile-infested lake that is widely regarded as sacred and mysterious.²⁸

Despite its status as a national monument, it became difficult to maintain as the walls were robbed of stone, trees growing in and around the walls led to further deterioration and fencing was stolen. However, when the Venda territory was given independent status by the South African government in 1979, an interest in nation-building was revived and the site was restored for ceremonies and as the place of the sacred drum of the Venda people. Positive community involvement led to the employment of a full-time caretaker and guide and the site is now used several times a year. While there has been some enthusiastic 'rebuilding' and some new construction work that may not meet all the standards of heritage conservation, the fact that active interest in Dzata has revived can only be welcomed.

Is there a Recipe for Success?

The ingredients in a successful recipe for sustained conservation of

archaeological and palaeontological sites will clearly vary with the type of site and its location, but we can suggest some general factors that will go a long way to ensure that significant sites to which the public may demand access will not be placed at undue risk.

The first is commitment to sustained conservation from the managers of the land. These managers must be capable of supplying adequate resources for site development, maintenance and visitor control. It implies that only sites in publicly funded national and provincial parks should be promoted. Universities, farmers, hotels or private enterprises can generally not guarantee long-term commitment.

The second is a well designed management plan. It should be drawn up in consultation with appropriate expertise and local communities. The plan must ensure that maintenance duties will be assigned to permanent and suitably qualified staff members who will be responsible for regular site monitoring so that changes can be made to visitor control measures if they are not effective.

The third is a strong and vibrant educational component. Ideally, displays, pamphlets and other resource materials should be geared to the needs and interests not only of tourists, but of local schools and community groups as well. Only by sensitising the younger generation can we hope to create greater awareness of the wealth of our archaeological and palaeontological heritage and the need to conserve it.

Finally, South Africa needs all the

expertise it can beg, borrow or develop through formal and informal training. Too often our irreplaceable sites become the object of *ad hoc* experimentation with a less than 50% success rate. While the belief until recently has been that they would be better off if left alone until we can improve the odds, it is time to reassess the assumptions underlying this view.

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Presenting South Africa's Rock Art Sites

Geoffrey Blundell

South Africa has a rich heritage of rock art, so much so that certain parts of the country have been called the "richest storehouse of prehistoric mural decoration in the world".¹ On the central plateau there are thousands of rock engraving (petroglyph) sites, while there are probably even more rock painting sites in the mountainous areas. Undoubtedly, southern Africa presents an enticing invitation to archaeo-tourists.

Much, though by no means all, of this wealth of rock art has been studied and is well understood in relation to other aspects of archaeology. The revolutionary work done on South African rock art in the last two decades has shown that the art is a complex system of metaphors, symbols and social statements.² Today it is widely recognised that, though polysemic, this system was largely implicated in San shamanic beliefs and rites. This recognition has had a profound impact, not only on South African rock art but on our understanding of American, French and Australian rock art.3 In spite of this revolutionary work, the South African public is still prisoner to older, colonial understandings of the art and very few sites have been prepared for public viewing. Part of

the reason for this lack of public sites is the extremely difficult challenge that rock art sites present to those who would prepare them for the public. Presenting rock art in situ to the public entails presenting an art form, from which most modern viewers feel alienated, in a context - nature - that is open to much misinterpretation. So far, this challenge has been taken up in South Africa from either of two positions. Both, I argue, are inadequate and promote undesirable views of the art and the San. Having briefly considered these two positions, I argue for a reconceptualisation of public rock art sites that overcomes the existing inadequacies by recourse to what I call 'metaphoric pilgrimage'.

Current Approaches in South Africa There are at present two approaches to presenting South African rock art in situ. I term these the minimalist and the metaphor-of-museum approaches. They are, of course, ideal types and are thus, in a sense, 'straw men'. In practice, the distinctions between them are not always sharp and aspects of both are found at a number of sites. Nevertheless, I argue that they imply different understandings of public sites and that they are both associated with a number of stereotypes of the San and their art that are far from

favourable.

The minimalist approach

Public rock art sites in this category have little or nothing in the way of interpretative material or facilities. Sometimes only a protective fence is placed around the site. A central assumption of this approach is that the art should be left as pristine as possible - it should be left in its original setting with little or no mediatory structures.

Unfortunately, by leaving sites unmediated, we run the risk of reproducing long-standing, widely-held pejorative conceptions of the San as part of the 'wilderness'. In this view, the San are seen as living close to nature, and are therefore not fully cultural in the Western sense of the term.

The well-known public rock art site of Tandjesberg in the Free State falls between the minimalist and metaphorof-museum approaches. Situated on private land, the site is well managed and protected by a fence. A boardwalk has been placed on the archaeological deposit to prevent the destruction of the stratigraphy as well as the stirring up of dust which adheres to the paintings and damages them. Copies of images from the shelter have been placed on lecterns along this boardwalk (Fig. 1). An interpretative booklet is available from the farmer on whose land the site is situated. All this is undoubtedly laudable. But, while these copies allow the visitor to identify the rather faded paintings more readily, the absence of any interpretative text on the lecterns is problematic.

The minimalist approach, then, does not challenge or alter people's conceptions of rock art and since many people come to a site with 'cultural baggage' that is overstuffed with negative images of the San and their art, this approach simply reinforces stereotypical views.

The metaphor-of-museum approach Whereas the minimalist approach conceptualises public rock art sites as part of nature, the metaphor-ofmuseum approach tends to conceive sites as essentially Western institutions. Possibly South Africa's best-known public rock art site, Main Caves in the Giant's Castle Nature Reserve in the KwaZulu Natal Drakensberg, is a striking example of this approach. Main Caves is explicitly constructed as a 'site museum': display cabinets containing excavated material from the shelter are present as well as a diorama of casts representing San people. There is also a long audio-tape commentary to which visitors are required to listen. The museum approach treats the paintings as if they were museum objects. The images become like isolated pots or headrests in widely separated display cabinets. Very little attempt is made to demonstrate connections between images in the site or to link them to similar images elsewhere in South Africa. The site becomes little more than a cluttered, old fashioned museum containing a myriad of decontextualised objects.

The results of both the minimalist and metaphor-of-museum approaches are unfortunate. Because the minimalist approach reinforces

Fig. 1. A tracing by Jannie Loubser and Paul den Hoed of part of a densely painted

panel of rock paintings at Tandjesberg.

stereotypes by not challenging them and because the metaphor-of-museum approach treats the art as isolated museum objects, they trivialise the art and portray it as the work of a



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primitive, indigenous 'other'. Visitors, therefore, tend to see the art as insignificant and feel alienated from it. Indeed, the sense of alienation from San rock art is well entrenched in South African Society and has deep historical roots.

Signs of Change

There are signs that this situation is beginning to change in South Africa. With the advent of democracy there has been an awakening affinity in South African public consciousness to images of the San and their rock art. Images of the San and/or their rock art, for example, appear in commercials for companies such as Telkom, the SABC, and Spoornet. These companies tend to be nationally owned or are in the process of becoming fully privatised. Companies being privatised have needed new identities to accompany their new status and those that have remained state-controlled are trying to construct a new image that is more appropriate to the present-day, democratic South Africa.⁴ The San and their art provide ideal, (supposedly) politically neutral, symbols for new identities.

Indeed, a belief in the political neutrality of San art has led to rock art images being placed on the Olympic flag and valuable minted coins commemorating the World Rugby Cup. The San and their art are thus, for the first time in South African history, becoming incorporated on a large scale into the production of a unitary and national identity. There is, in other words, a move in South Africa to reappropriate San rock art.

Public rock art sites are in an ideal position to capitalise on this recent shift in perceptions of the art from 'other' to 'our' and consequently to contribute to identity-formation. They probably reach a far wider and

certainly a more diverse audience than do rock art books. The way that public rock art sites are currently presented either as minimalist or as metaphor-ofmuseum - does not, however, exploit this move. If South Africa's public rock art sites are to turn the recent move to seeing the art as 'our' to best advantage and if they are to play a more significant role in the country's burgeoning tourist industry and if we want the sites to 'educate' people about the art, then we need a new and more sensitive conceptual approach. Reconceptualising public rock art sites

Any reconceptualisation of the way rock art is presented must begin from the premise that sites need to be mediated if they are to challenge old stereotypes and impact on public perceptions to their full potential. Clearly, the minimalist approach does not play such a mediatory role. The metaphor-of-museum approach, on the other hand, does offer such mediatory potential. The way that it has been implemented in South Africa, however, has not used this mediatory potential in a positive manner. A better approach, I suggest, may be found by radically adapting the metaphor-of-museum approach to the way the San originally used rock art sites. In other words, we need to find common ground between the way the sites were initially used and the way people approach sites presently.

Original use of sites

There is, unfortunately, little information on the indigenous use of rock art sites in South Africa. The

available information, however, suggests that the sites were used for deeply religious purposes. By now it is well accepted that the San considered the paintings and engravings supernaturally powerful.5 Moreover, the actual sites where the images were made were seen to be powerful places.⁶ The power of the sites, at least in parts of southern Africa, appears to have been exploited on a seasonal basis. In the Kwazulu-Natal Drakensberg, for example, evidence suggests that the San painted and used the sites in the summer and migrated to the Natal midlands in winter where there are few paintings.⁷

In addition, although there is a lacuna in the ethnographic evidence on shamanic vision quest amongst the San, the fact that such experiences are well documented amongst the majority of shamanic cultures strongly suggests that certain rock art sites were places where San shamans obtained spiritual insights and power. World-wide, shamans make ritual journeys to rock art sites where they often make a further hallucinatory journey to an alternative reality. The conception of images and sites as supernaturally powerful, the seasonal journey to these powerful sites and probable use of sites for spiritual experiences are characteristic of what Victor and Edith Turner describe as the 'pilgrimage process'.8

Pilgrimage

Pilgrimages, according to the Turners, are a near universal feature of human societies, including shamanic ones⁹, and the evidence to which I have referred suggests that the San

possibly made what may be called pilgrimages to rock art sites. Importantly, the Turners' work on pilgrimage points to the profound similarities between pilgrims and tourists - "a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist".¹⁰ Since the vast majority of people visiting public rock art sites are tourists, pilgrimage offers an approach to presenting sites that interdigitates with the way modern people approach sites. A profound similarity between pilgrims and tourists was recognised by the Turners. This similarity, I argue, consists in the process of identity-formation that both undergo. According to the Turners, pilgrims and tourists pass through three major phases. In Van Gennep's¹¹ famous formulation these are: rites of separation, rites of liminality, and rites of incorporation. The passing of the pilgrim through these three phases constitutes the 'pilgrimage process', a process which fundamentally alters identity. During the separation phase,

pilgrims are distinguished from their normal social surroundings through ritual. In the incorporation phase pilgrims undergo rites to re-situate them within their daily social life. It is during the liminal phase, however, when pilgrims are isolated from 'normal' society, that the alteration of identity is particularly pronounced. The isolation of pilgrims during this phase allows them to operate in an environment that is free from 'symbolic clutter'. The number of symbols experienced in everyday life is minimised and particular symbols

become focal points of the pilgrimage. These focal symbols are situated at the shrine - the destination of the pilgrims. At the shrine, pilgrims experience hunger, loss of sleep and rigorously perform rituals. The hardships, liminality, and lack of symbol-clutter allow the focal symbols at the shrine to impinge on the pilgrims as they never have before and thus produce an identity-altering experience.

I do not, of course, suggest establishing actual pilgrimages to public rock art sites, but rather taking from pilgrimage that which is effective in identity-transformation and replicating those features at public rock art sites. For this reason, and so as to avoid confusion, I use the phrase 'metaphoric pilgrimage' when dealing with public rock art sites.

Metaphoric pilgrimage: design and structure

Establishing a metaphoric pilgrimage at a public rock art site requires replicating, in broad, structural terms, the 'pilgrimage process'. In effect, this means that the site must be designed and constructed in such a way that visitors pass through phases of separation, liminality, and reincorporation. In actual pilgrimages, these phases are marked by rituals. In metaphoric pilgrimages, we need to devise 'rituals' or reformulate familiar conventions in a manner that turns them into something approaching rituals. Essentially, the experience at a site should be one of progress and accumulation: visitors should not retrace their footsteps. I deal with possible ways of establishing the three phases of the pilgrimage process at public rock art sites in two

sections. First, I consider the separation and reincorporation phases together; I then look at the liminal phase.

Separation and reincorporation

An effective way of establishing separation between visitors and the general public is through the use of a visitor centre. Common in American national parks and elsewhere, visitor centres have not yet been widely used in South Africa. Positioning these centres at public rock art sites would be critical. All visitors to the site should pass through the visitor centre when entering and leaving. In keeping with the principle of progress through the site, a separate entrance and exit should be established so that visitors do not return the same way that they entered. In addition, the entrance section should contain very few amenities, certainly no coffee shops or curio stores, and the whole layout should be designed to facilitate an efficient progression of people rather than a directionless and open forum where people can drift around aimlessly.

Furthermore, a short orientation video of a few minutes should be shown. An orientation video is desirable because, unlike real pilgrims, visitors to public rock art sites are not familiar with the significance of the symbols that they will encounter at the site itself; the video should therefore introduce aspects of San symbolism to visitors. The video would also create symbolic distance between the visitor and the outside world because the duration of the video, even though brief, would create a time-gap between the visitors' arrival and their viewing of the rock art. As a final act of separation, visitors should be given a large tag to hang around their necks, or some other physical marker, to identify them as visitors to the site. The tag, embossed with a suitable image, would serve to mark visitors off as separate from daily social life.

On the visitors' return to the visitor centre, the tags could be placed in a box as the first symbolic act of reincorporation. Coffee shops and curio stores should be placed in this section of the visitor centre as they are familiar aspects of daily social life. Not only do they facilitate 'decompression' from the intense experience of viewing the art but they also symbolise the reincorporation of the visitors into the general public. Importantly, souvenirs and other commodities on sale in these areas are not merely trivial. They offer a way for tourists to take something with them away from the site. According to Miller¹², such purchasing of commodities is a form of sublation - reappropriating part of that which has become alienated from one.

Purchasing curios with images of rock art offers a powerful way through which tourists can construct identities based on positive views of art as 'our'. Careful thought should, therefore, be given to what images are put on these objects; the art should not be trivialised.

The liminal phase

The liminal phase begins outside the visitor centre at the start of the path that leads to the rock art. In keeping with the principles of the pilgrimage process, this path should be elliptical; visitors should not return to the visitor centre by way of the same path along which they journeyed to the site. The texts on lecterns along the path should be illustrated by means of copies of rock art images. They should also be brief, easily understood and cumulative in their impact.

Those lecterns on the path leading from the visitor centre to the site should emphasise the separation of the visitor from daily social life and, importantly, raise expectations of what is to be seen at the site. There should be cumulative information about the religious and symbolic nature of the art. Even before they see the actual images, visitors should be equipped to understand them.

Particular emphasis should be placed on the multiple associations of the eland, southern Africa's largest antelope and the San's most powerful symbol. It was the eland that, in many parts of southern Africa, made the shamans' access to spiritual realms possible.

Along the return path, the lecterns should emphasise the reincorporation of the visitor into daily social life. Points about the art and its makers need to be reinforced. Again, this gives the visitor a sense of a progression through the site and a changing perspective on the art.

The symbols that visitors encounter at public rock art sites are, of course, the paintings and engravings. In terms of the model, the area where these images are found is analogous to the pilgrimage 'shrine'. It is before these images that visitors' identities are altered. It is here that they come face to face with the objects - the art - of their identity. In actual pilgrimages, pilgrims perform certain rituals around the objects at a shrine. Metaphoric pilgrimage needs to replicate this. One way of doing this would be to get the visitor to be more active in viewing the art; bending, kneeling, stretching, lying down, climbing a staircase to view particular images would accomplish this task. Various possibilities suggest themselves; suffice to say that, in this short article. I am interested in principles and not specifics, and the principle is to turn visitors from passive viewers into active participants in viewing the art.

Conclusion

I have argued that South Africa's public rock art sites are in a predicament and that a new conceptual approach to them is needed. Such an approach, I contend, may be found in the notion of metaphoric pilgrimage. Importantly, metaphoric pilgrimage is a strategy, not a gospel. It is flexible enough to be applicable at many different public rock art sites and may have application at other types of archaeological sites as well. Certainly, if other archaeological sites are situated near a public rock art site they should be included in the metaphoric pilgrimage. Including Iron Age, Stone Age and colonial archaeology, for example, in a metaphoric pilgrimage facilitates the integration of various. previously segregated, sections of South Africa's past.¹³

Metaphoric pilgrimage is, as I have briefly demonstrated, not merely an idealistic and theoretical abstraction; it translates effectively into practical measures that facilitate identityformation. It is not the layout of the presentation in terms of separation, liminal and reincorporation areas alone that will shift people's identities. Rather, it is the combination of this layout, known to be significant in identity-formation, with sensitively presented, ethnographically informed information about San rock art that offers a way of shifting people's identities.

We should not, of course, expect every person visiting a metaphoric pilgrimage site to experience a shift in identity. A carefully constructed metaphoric pilgrimage, however, comprising an elliptical route with texts that are cumulative and raise visitors' expectations, should combine to challenge demeaning stereotypes, such as the San as part of nature rather than culture. If, by the sheer power of the visitors' experience, these stereotypes are demolished, a new identity will inevitably be formed that is not postulated on colonial ideas of a 'savage other but rather on the San as fully cultural and sensitive human beings in a monument to creativity.

Acknowledgements

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Conservation Practice for Historical Shipwrecks

John Gribble

Since the discovery in the fifteenth century of a sea route to the East around the Cape of Good Hope, the southern tip of the African continent has played a vital role in global economic and maritime affairs and, until the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, represented the most viable route between Europe and the markets of the East.

The South African coast, however, which stretches for approximately 2954 kilometres from the Orange River Mouth in the west, to Ponto Do Ouro in the east¹, and also includes two overseas territories held by South Africa in the south Atlantic - Marion and Prince Edward Islands² - is rugged and the seas unpredictable. The coastline consists of rocks and cliffs interspersed with sandy beaches pounded by heavy surf. The long fetch and the deep surrounding waters mean that the force and size of the swells and waves along the South African coast are considerable, and are often increased by prevailing winds.³

In the nearly 450 years since the first European vessels rounded the Cape, many ships, ranging from merchantmen to vessels of exploration and war, have foundered in South African territorial waters, and historical research indicates that since 1551 nearly 3000 ships have wrecked along the South African coast.⁴ It should be borne in mind that these figures are based almost entirely on preliminary documentary research carried out in South Africa, and it is likely therefore that the list is incomplete and that further research both here and abroad will increase the documentary evidence for wrecks in South African waters.

The majority of the wrecks are Dutch and English, but vessels of at least 30 other nationalities are also represented. Described as 'frozen moments in time', wrecks have the potential to inform us about life at sea, vessel construction methods, the material culture of the period, and trade and trade networks, to a degree that written documents are unable to match. They are also valuable for other reasons, such as the cargo they were carrying, which is often of commercial value to salvors. It is clear therefore that this sunken resource constitutes a valuable and highly significant historical-archaeological asset that must be preserved and protected.

There are however a variety of factors which affect the potential historical and archaeological information available from a

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shipwreck, and these include such things as the depth at which it lies, the nature of the sea bed, and the amount of disturbance that has taken place through wave and current action. The impact of post-depositional human activities on the wrecks also affects their potential for information. A salvage industry has operated along the South African coast for well over a century⁵, and even prior to that the cargoes of many ships were salvaged shortly after they foudered. With the advent of readily available, safe diving equipment in the last 30 years, however, access to previously inaccessible wrecks has been within the reach of greater numbers of people, and this has resulted in increased pressure on wrecks.6

It was not until 1979 that an amendment to the National Monuments Act acknowledged the cultural and historical value of shipwrecks in South African territorial waters, and tasked the National Monuments Council with the statutory protection of this heritage resource. The implementation of effective protections and controls by the NMC was limited by the constraints of the amendment to the Act, and a lack of personnel and funds.

At present there are only three posts for maritime archaeologists in South Africa, one of whom is employed by the NMC to deal with shipwrecks and their management on a nationwide basis. This is an improvement on the complete lack of such posts at the time of the 1979 amendment to the Act, but remains unsatisfactory.

Adequate legislation to ensure the

greater preservation of this valuable heritage resource has only been in place in South Africa since 1986, when a further amendment to the National Monuments Act stated that: No person shall disturb or remove any wreck which is 50 years or older, except by virtue of a permit issued by the council on such conditions that it may deem fit (Section 12(2C)).

The conditions stipulated in the Act and usually attached to such a permit are:

- the salvor must have a written affiliation agreement with a museum approved by the NMC;
 the salvor must be in possession
- of a valid salvage licence from the Department of Customs and Excise;
- the permit holder must give written agreement to a set of conditions drawn up by the NMC;
- a notice must be published in the Government Gazette calling for objections, and;
- * the collaborating museum has the right to select up to 50% of the items recovered for its collections, and the rest belong to the salvor to dispose of as desired.

In addition, a further condition was added in 1992 that made it obligatory for anyone investigating a wreck older than 1850 to include a professional archaeologist, approved by the NMC, on their team.

Operation Sea Eagle: Assessment of Wrecks around Robben Island

Following the release of the last

political prisoners from the maximum security section of the prison on Robben Island in 1991, the island has gradually became more accessible to the public. The closure of the remaining prison facilities on the island scheduled for the end of 1996 has meant that the future of Robben Island is under debate.

Despite the present lack of clarity regarding the future of the island and its use, the government has recognised that an assessment of its potential resources - both natural and cultural is critical to sound future management.

In February 1991 therefore a project known as Operation Sea Eagle was initiated at the request of the South African Cabinet to assess the potential of the underwater cultural resources of Robben Island. The year long project is probably unique in southern Africa, and was co-ordinated by a working group consisting of representatives of the Departments of Correctional Services, National Education, Trade and Industry, Customs and Excise, Sea Fisheries, the South African Navy, and the National Monuments Council. This working group was directly responsible to the Cabinet.

The objective of the project was to quantify and assess the underwater cultural resources within the existing one nautical mile exclusion zone imposed around Robben Island during its days as a political prison, and to provide advice on the future management of these resources.⁷ *Physical Setting*

Robben Island is situated in Table Bay at approximately 33.48S, 18.22E. It is approximately $3,4 \times 2$ km in extent, and lies about 7,5 km from the nearest land.

Topographically the island is low and flat, rising only 30 m above mean sea level at its highest point. The shoreline in most areas is rugged with jagged rocks and rocky gullies. Only on the east or landward coast are there some small stretches of sandy beach.

Wave action on the seaward side of the island is considerable because of the long fetch and deep surrounding waters, and waves of up to 6 m have been observed on occasion. This has a deleterious effect on diving activities on the west coast, and on the preservation of shipwreck material.⁸

Dense beds of giant kelp or sea bamboo add to the difficulties experienced by divers working in this area.

Archaeological Fieldwork

The fieldwork component of the project was organised and co-ordinated by a small task group nominated by the project committee and consisted of representatives from the South African Navy, the Department of Correctional Services, the National Monuments Council and a maritime archaeologist, Drs Bruno Werz.

The main objective of this part of the operation was to assess the location and present state of shipwrecks which foundered within the present one nautical mile exclusion zone referred to above. The fieldwork therefore aimed to:

- create an inventory of the number of shipwrecks physically present in the area;
- identify and accurately record the position of individual wrecks,

and;

record and assess the state of the wrecks located during the fieldwork.

It was proposed that side-scan sonar and proton magnetometer surveys of the search area be undertaken to locate individual shipwrecks, but it soon became clear that the sea conditions around the island prohibited the use of such methods. Attempts were also made to use a hand-held underwater metal detector during the initial dives, but this proved unreliable due to the high ferro-magnetic content of the bedrock. All the material located during Operation Sea Eagle therefore was found due to diver observation.

During the planning of the operation it was agreed that artifacts would be removed from wrecks only if necessary to aid the positive identification of a particular wreck, and that this would be undertaken only by the maritime archaeologist. Furthermore, any such artefacts were to be returned to the wrecks in question immediately the vessel had been identified.

Diving operations

Fieldwork commenced in May 1991, with diving operations the responsibility of the South African Navy, who provided personnel. A total of 45 Navy divers were involved in the entire project, although the diving team at any one time usually consisted of 12-15 Navy personnel and the maritime archaeologist. The Navy and the Department of Correctional Services jointly provided logistical support in the form of accommodation, transport and the

necessary permits. Drs Werz carried out the archival research, supervised the fieldwork and acted as a consultant for the NMC.

Because the search area covered approximately 9 sq nautical miles, it was decided to first identify those wrecks that were located on the shores of the island. The archival research had indicated that most of the wrecks would be located here, and the diving survey found the majority of the shipwreck material deposited on a rocky substrate within 10 m of the shore. This meant that the divers were operating in the heavy swells and strong backwash of the surf zone.

Depending on sea conditions an area several hundred meters long was demarcated on the shore each day, and within this area the seabed was intensively searched to an approximate distance of 300 m from the shore. Each wreck identified was marked with a metal buoy, which was subsequently accurately plotted by means of a theodolite survey.

The fieldwork was relatively successful and many of the remains were located accurately. Nearly half of the sites located could be positively identified from the archival information and the underwater survey.

A total of 15 wrecks were located by the divers, 10 of which could be identified with reasonable certainty. This represents 45% of the known shipwrecks in the study area and includes the wrecks of the Sea Eagle, Bernicia, Tantallon Castle, Natal, Rangatira, Golden Crown, Solhagen, Fong Chung No. 11, Goel No. 1, and Daeyang Family. Five other sites were located during the survey, but the severe fragmentation of the material prevented positive identification.

In other cases, especially on the west and north-west coasts of the island, wreck material was interspersed and mixed making it impossible to distinguish between individual vessels. Five of the vessels identified in the archival research fall into this category - the Kingston, Bittern, Timor, A H Stevens and Il Nazareno.

Of the 22 wrecks identified in the archival sources, seven were not found, although the documents provided approximate descriptions of their location. These include the only eighteenth century wreck mentioned in contemporary records, the Dageraad, as well as the Flora, Perseverance, Gondolier, Forfarshire, C. de Eizaguirre and Hypatia.

Finally, two sites were discovered that contained shipwreck material for which there is no documentary evidence. This material comes from relatively recent vessels, and the possibility exists that it is wreckage from one of the identified vessels that has been transported by the wave action.

Historical Research

During the planning of Operation Sea Eagle it was acknowledged that without a study of the documentary evidence available for the wrecks around Robben Island, no proper assessment of these cultural resources would be possible. Archival research therefore formed an integral part of the project, and was undertaken in tandem with the fieldwork due to time

constraints.

Documents housed at the Cape Archives Depot and the South African Library in Cape Town were consulted with a view to:

- producing an inventory of the ships known to have foundered within a radius of one nautical mile around Robben Island;
- retrieving information which would allow the positive identification of the wrecks located during the diving operations;
- identifying those areas in which ships foundered in order to use the time available for the fieldwork more productively; and providing information for an
- assessment of the value of each wreck.

The documentary evidence indicated that there were at least 22 wrecks around the island, and provided valuable historical data about these vessels, such as vessel type, age, tonnage, cargo and approximate location on the island. Given the highly fragmented condition of most of the wrecks located, their positive identification would have been virtually impossible without this historical information.

Finally, the documents provided information about shipwrecks on the island which were not located during the survey, which will be very useful in the future should any of these wrecks be located.

Shipwreck potential of Robben Island Operation Sea Eagle demonstrated that the shipwrecks around Robben Island have considerable potential as cultural resources and research objects, although the condition of many of the wrecks and their state of preservation is not particularly good due to the hostile sea conditions.

Archival information indicated that 21 of the 22 known wrecks took place in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in a ratio of 11:10. The fact that only a single reference to an eighteenth century vessel was found is probably a result of the range of documents consulted in the time available for this research, and is unlikely to be a true reflection of the reality.

The wrecks located tend to cluster on the north-western and south-southeastern shores of the island, and around Whale Rock.

Operation Sea Eagle was the first large-scale project in Africa devoted to the assessment of underwater cultural resources, and the combined results of the archival research and the diving operations have provided a core of data from which to formulate proposals for the future management of the underwater cultural resources of the island. It led directly to the one sea mile around the island being included in the area declared a national monument in 1996.

Apart from this aspect, Operation Sea Eagle has demonstrated that cooperation between diverse organisations can promote the study and management of cultural resources, that the infrastructure to undertake such studies is readily available in South Africa, and that when used as a training exercise for the Navy, the costs of such a project can be kept to

a minimum. The Oosterland Project

South Africa's shipwreck resource has been exploited by divers and salvors for nearly 100 years⁹ and many sites have been irretrievably damaged as a result.

There have been notable exceptions, however, and the divers working on the wrecks of the Birkenhead $(1852)^{10}$, the Doddington $(1755)^{11}$, and the Sacramento $(1647)^{12}$ have investigated the sites more carefully using maritime archaeological excavation and recording methods, and have recorded historical data during the salvage of material from these vessels.

Recent developments in maritime archaeology in South Africa, however, have seen a marked improvement in the legal protection afforded wrecks, the creation of three professional posts for maritime archaeologists, and the establishment of initiatives by the latter to educate divers about the application of archaeological method and theory to shipwreck sites.

That these efforts are starting to bear fruit can be illustrated by an unprecedented interdisciplinary maritime archaeological project which followed the discovery of the wreck of the Dutch East Indiaman, the *Oosterland*, in Table Bay.¹³ ¹⁴

Background

In December 1988, three Cape Town sports divers stumbled across two bronze cannon and other artifacts lying on the seabed in Table Bay. They immediately notified Drs Bruno Werz, Maritime Archaeologist at the Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town (UCT), and the National Monuments Council of the find. An investigation of the site by the maritime archaeologist confirmed that it was a shipwreck, and an examination of the cannon and associated material identified the wreck as that of a vessel belonging to the Dutch East India Company (VOC).^{15 16}

Since only 26 VOC wrecks are known worldwide, the discovery of this wreck was an important find in itself.¹⁷ What was perhaps more important was the fact that the material associated with the wreck in Table Bay indicated that this vessel was on the homeward voyage when she foundered, carrying a cargo of goods from the East bound for the European markets.¹⁸ The importance of the discovery of such a wreck lies in the fact that of the known VOC wrecks, only 6 were wrecked during the return voyage. Of the remaining 20, one was involved in inter-Asiatic trade, and the others foundered on the outward voyage from Europe.

Salvors have tended to concentrate on the outward-bound vessels for the obvious commercial value of their cargoes of bullion and specie, but the information on what they carried does not need to be excavated or salvaged because it is recorded in great detail in the VOC records which still exist.¹⁹ While outward-bound VOC vessels are clearly important resources, their excavation reveals less about VOC trade and trade relations, and seventeenth and eighteenth century Dutch material culture than does the investigation of those vessels which were on their way home with a full cargo of exotic commodities from the East. The materials recoverable from the wreck of such a vessel therefore represent a complete, dateable package of the goods that were in demand on European markets, and can reveal much that is lacking in the documentary record.²⁰ *Historical Research*.

The initial assessment of the wreck indicated that it was largely undisturbed and had important research potential. According to Werz²¹, only two of the known homeward-bound VOC wrecks, the Mauritius which sank off the African West Coast in 1608 and the Witte Leeuw lost off St Helena in 1613. have been excavated scientifically. The others have been salvaged for commercial gain, with the resultant loss of archaeological and contextual detail. The opportunity the Table Bay wreck presented for the retrieval of information in a controlled and scientific manner therefore was invaluable.

The activities of the discovery team in this area of the bay had attracted the attention of divers, and it was just a matter of time before others would discover the guns and the associated material.²²

The safety of the wreck, and particularly the two bronze cannon were an immediate concern. Not only did the cannon have a scrap metal and a rarity value because they were made of bronze rather than cast iron, but they were identical in design. According to Werz²³, they are probably the only known pair of matching VOC cannon yet discovered, putting their value beyond price. In view of past cases in South Africa, the very real danger existed that these cannon would simply vanish in the night. This would not only be a huge historical and scientific loss, but would probably also result in damage to the rest of the site.

The NMC was approached therefore to approve the immediate removal of these items from the wreck, and it was agreed that although no salvage permit would be issued, a rescue operation to remove the guns should be mounted.

On 11 February 1989 the first of the guns was salvaged, having first been carefully plotted and its position in respect of the rest of the wreck triangulated and recorded. A week later, following a similar process of mapping and recording, the second gun was lifted, this time with the aid of a Sikorsky helicopter supplied by a Cape Town firm.²⁴

The guns were conserved and stabilised at the South African Maritime Museum in Cape Town, and have since been donated by the divers to the museum, where they are now on display.

The salvage of these cannon confirmed that the wreck was that of a Dutch East Indiaman and provided the key to its identification. Each gun was found to be marked with the VOC insignia, and the letter "A" to denote that they had been commissioned by the Amsterdam Chamber of the Company. An inscription on the back of the guns revealed that they had been cast in 1685, which provided a rough date for the vessel from which they came.25

Archival research by Drs Werz²⁶ ²⁷ suggested that the wreck was that of the *Oosterland*, which ran aground and broke up on the eastern shore of Table Bay on 24 May 1697 during a violent north-westerly gale. The wrecking was accompanied by a heavy toll in lives and the loss of most of her cargo.

The Oosterland was built in Middelburg between 1684 and 1685, and was one of the larger vessels commissioned by the VOC, measuring 45 x 11 m. She undertook four major voyages before she was wrecked.²⁸

An interesting historical connection between the vessel and South Africa, brought to light by the archival research, is that on her second voyage in 1688, she brought a party of French Huguenots, fleeing religious persecution in Europe, to settle at the Cape.²⁹

The Physical Environment

The physical conditions in Table Bay influencing the preservation of the wreck were also of concern. The wreck lies about 100 m off the eastern shore of Table Bay south of the mouth of the Milnerton Lagoon, in 5-7 m of water. It is resting on a relatively flat sandy bottom, and much of it is covered by sand. The material recovered from the wreck thus far is well preserved, which implies that for much of the time since it was deposited the material on the site has been buried.³⁰

The recent exposure of the wreckage however may be indicative of a potential environmental threat to the wreck. Studies have shown that prior

to the construction of the Cape Town harbour extensions in the 1970s the current and wave patterns in Table Bay were relatively stable, but that the new harbour constructions have upset this balance. One of the results has been a process of coastal regression of up to 80 m in some areas on the western shore of the bay.^{31 32} The site of the wreck of the Oosterland is likely to have been subject to increased scouring of underwater sediment and sand, and this is likely to have contributed to the exposure of the wreck. The exposed material from the wreck is subject to westerly and north-westerly currents and wave action, which is causing the dispersal of material from the site, a phenomenon demonstrated by the occurrence of shards of porcelain and other small objects washing up on the beach.

The Research Project

The obvious importance of the wreck of the *Oosterland*, and the potential threats to the material on the site, motivated those involved to establish an archaeological project to investigate the wreck. The primary objectives were:

- an interdisciplinary scientific approach to the investigation of the wreck;
- the collection and analysis of historical and archaeological material and information from the survey and excavation of the wreck;

the creation of a field school which would involve interested parties in all aspects of maritime archaeological research, and; the development of a standard for future involvement on historical wrecks.

The multidisciplinary scientific investigation of the *Oosterland* wreck, carried out jointly by the Department of Archaeology at the University of Cape Town and the discoverers of the wreck, is unique in South African maritime archaeology.³³

The good working relationship established between the divers, the maritime archaeologist, and the authorities following the discovery of the wreck and the salvage of the cannon, paved the way for this subsequent collaboration. It was formalised by a contractual agreement between the parties involved. This contract guaranteed the discoverers their right to claim a 50% share of the finds in terms of the law, while at the same time ensuring that ample time was available for the scientific excavation and study of the wreck and artefacts by the archaeologist.34 Results

The Oosterland project is the first of its kind in South Africa, and has stressed a multidisciplinary approach to the excavation and investigation of the wreck. It has recognised the need to draw in as many people as possible to demonstrate the value and importance of employing maritime archaeological methods on the investigation of shipwrecks, and has utilised the skills and expertise of participants from a variety of disciplines.³⁵

In line with this approach, the Department of Land Surveying at UCT has been studying the application John Gribble

of two surveying techniques which have never before been applied to maritime archaeological research. One of these involves the use of a Geographical Information System (GIS) to record and interpret data obtained from the excavation, and the other involves the use of video images to record three-dimensional spatial relationships between artefacts underwater.36

The Department of Oceanography at UCT has initiated a project to study the seabed and beach morphology near the wreck site, and the UCT Marine Geoscience Unit and the national Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs have not only made their inshore survey vessel available to the project, but have also used their sidescan sonar on the wreck site.

From the historical and archaeological perspective the information and material retrieved thus far from the Oosterland is important for a number of reasons.

The fact that the wreck was largely untouched, combined with the excellent state of preservation of much of the cargo including organic materials, has meant that the Oosterland project has been able to produce a unique body of historical data.

The Chinese and oriental ceramics on board the vessel are dateable to a specific year, and this information will contribute to the international study of the history and dating of these ceramics.

Because the vessel formed part of an international economic and trade system, the careful examination of the

wreck has provided insights into the types of exclusive goods that were in demand, the quality of these trade goods, and the operation of the multinational corporation that was the VOC.

The examination of the spatial relationships between the artefacts on the wreck has provided important clues to reconstructing the ways in which cargoes were handled and stored on board such vessels. The study of the remains of the vessel itself are useful in understanding the manner in which the ship foundered and broke up, and may contribute to the generation of predictive models or patterns that can be applied to other vessels and can be utilised in the management of these cultural resources.

The educative aspect of the Oosterland project has been of critical importance, and the project has endeavoured to create a greater awareness amongst divers, salvors and the general public of the fragility of South Africa's diverse underwater cultural heritage and the need to preserve it. More practically, the project has aimed at introducing divers, scholars and others who showed an interest, to the methods and theory of maritime archaeology, and the intricacies of underwater fieldwork and conservation methods.

Finally, the project has been used as a test for the National Monuments Council and maritime archaeologists of the regulations governing shipwrecks and their salvage in South Africa, and has done more than any previous work to set standards for future work of a similar nature in South Africa.

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The Castle of Good Hope

Janette Deacon, Gabriël Fagan and Gwen Fagan

The Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town is the first place to have been declared a national monument - in 1936 - and is the oldest surviving building relating to the European presence in South Africa that is still in use. It is probably the finest and best preserved example of Dutch colonial military architecture (Fig. 1). The foundation stone was laid on 2 January 1666 and the initial work was completed thirteen years later in April 1679. The five bastions were named after the titles of the Prince of Orange in Holland. The Castle replaced an earlier earthen-walled fort that was started in 1652, the foundations of which have been located beneath the Grand Parade about 500 m from the Castle in an archaeological project directed by Dr G Abrahams-Willis.1

Although the purpose of the Castle was to defend the small Dutch East India Company settlement against the English and French, and both a moat and powder magazines were built into its design, defence was never in fact necessary and the Castle served instead as a form of citadel. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth century all the functions of a small town took place within its walls, with smithies, workshops for carpenters and coopers, store rooms for food supplies

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Fig. 1. Plan of the Castle of Good Hope in the early eighteenth century. (Cape Archives)

and accomodation for barracks. From 1674 to the mid-1800s it was the official residence of first the Dutch and then the British governor at the Cape. The threat of demolition arose on several occasions in the nineteenth century as it fell into disrepair, but was averted each time by public concern. In 1917 the Imperial Forces handed the Castle over to the Defence Force of the Union of South Africa. It serves a dual function today. Offices

are still used by the Western Province Command of the South African National Defence Force, but the Castle also houses a military museum and a museum displaying and curating the William Fehr Collection of furniture and paintings, and both the museum and the grounds are open to tourists who may visit the collection or join a guided tour of the Castle. Approximately 100 000 people enter the Castle each year.

The most recent phase of repair and restoration has been carried out piecemeal over the past 25 years under the direction of architects Gabriel and Gwen Fagan for the Public Works Department and the Defence Force. When their plans included demolition of recent buildings and re-construction of the so-called Dolphin Pool that had been a feature of the Castle in the early eighteenth century (Fig. 2), archaeologists were engaged in the 1980s to assist. Their results provide an important dimension to the work and are summarised in a separate contribution by Martin Hall.

The brief given to the Fagans was to effect repairs and create spaces to make the Castle usable by the Defence Force. This was done in a series of contracts, none of which was primarily for the purposes of heritage conservation. Nevertheless, their own conservation policy was to retain original fabric and demolish as little as possible, except where materials had to be replaced for the sake of safety, and where later additions had spoilt the original symmetry. For example, a Georgian staircase installed by the British in the nineteenth century to

replace the original Dutch one was retained, but where the British had changed the facade of Block D by inserting new doors and windows, these were removed and the original facade was restored. In addition, a twentieth century toilet block in the back courtyard was demolished and the area was paved and grassed.

Archaeological excavations revealed that the Dolphin Pool had never been demolished, but had instead been filled with rubble. When this was cleaned out, the original shell of the pool was used for the new one. Archaeological and archival research showed the existence of a building alongside it and the new one was designed to re-create the original facade and the layout of 'streets' within the citadel, while at the same time providing modern office facilities. Although there was considerable debate around whether or not the pool and adjacent building should be built on the original foundations, the decision to do so was based on the knowledge that they would be destroyed if left as they were.

Several innovative methods were used in the restoration process. When glass was required to replace broken panes or for windows that were put back in original positions, it was noted that the new panes were too clear and lacked the liveliness of the old ones in which the imperfections reflected light in a different way. The new panes were therefore re-heated to distort the glass and provided an inexpensive solution that made a significant difference to the quality of light in the

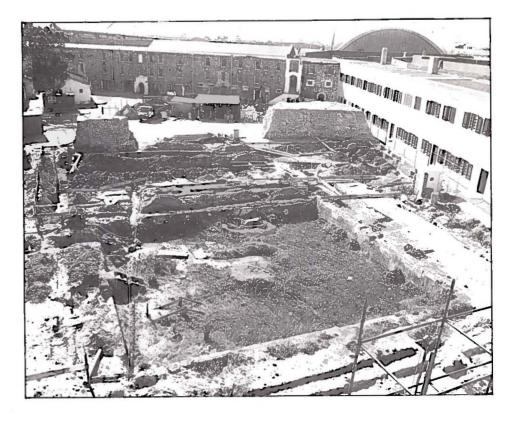


Fig. 2. The Dolphin Pool in the process of being cleared of rubble and fill. (Photo: G. Fagan)

building. A more serious problem arose with the repair of the deal ceiling beams. It was not possible to obtain new ones of the same size, but as only the ends that were imbedded in the walls had become rotten, a method had to be devised to retain as much of them as possible without compromising on strength. Holes were made in the walls to enable the beams to be removed by crane. The ends of each beam were replaced with stainless steel and the repaired beam was then put back in such a manner that the stainless steel portion remains hidden in the wall.

At least seven layers of wall paintings were found on the interior walls of the Castle. They were found unexpectedly when a recent staircase was demolised and the original plaster was revealed behind it. Each layer was carefully uncovered by Jan Corewijn who was also responsible for analysing the paint and for recording the designs that were left. A selection of styles was then re-created using the old designs. The most recent restoration project has been the replacement of the original moat around the Castle. The moat had been designed to carry water

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from a natural stream that flowed from Table Mountain rather than stagnant water from an artificial source. Unfortunately, with the growth of the town in the nineteenth century the stream had been diverted beneath street level and the moat became unsanitary. It was eventually filled in in the mid-nineteenth century. The Public Works Department was persuaded by the architects that replacement of at least a section of the moat at the entrance to the Castle would improve its aesthetic and historical appeal. After archaeological excavations indicated the width and depth of the original, a section was dug out. The infill was sold as topsoil and cement and concrete were mixed with the remaining soil at the base to provide an impermeable layer and to enable the moat to be cleaned when necessary. Various species of fish and water plants have been introduced but with mixed success. The bank against the wall of the Castle has been stabilised with sandbags over which grass sods have been planted. This has worked well except where irrigation water has not reached grassed sections.

Restoration work at the Castle of Good Hope has been a learning experience for all concerned. It has shown that an anachronistic structure like a fort can be adapted for modern use without compromising conservation principles unduly, although sacrifices have been made on both sides. If spread over a number of years, government funding can be made available and ultimately the results are of benefit not only for the national heritage, but also for those who use the building, whether for business or for tourism. A valuable side-effect has been the knowledge and experience gained in such specialised techniques as wall painting and the manufacture of glass for old buildings.

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The Archaeology of the Castle of Good Hope

Martin Hall

Introduction

Today the Castle does not seem a significant monument. The freeway into the centre of Cape Town passes squat dark stone walls set in pocket handkerchief size lawns, and one could be forgiven for having one's attention diverted to other buildings or to the towering face of Table Mountain. Yet for more than 200 years the Castle was the focal point of the administration of colonial life in Southern Africa. From the late seventeenth century, when the Dutch garrison first occupied the partly completed bastion, and on through the nineteenth century, when successive British governors reviewed the troops in the Castle's courtyard, this building was a microcosm of colonial life of the Cape. At various times, the Castle housed all the diverse activities necessary to support a garrison and administration. As such, it is a key site in the interpretation of the archaeology and history of colonialism, and an important place in the continuing historical landscape of the city.

In many other places, equivalent centres of colonial administration have either been destroyed or modified to the point where they bear little testimony to the past. Early Dutch settlements on Manhattan island, for

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example, have long been obliterated by New York skyscrapers. The headquarters of the Dutch East India Company in Batavia were razed to the ground when it became clear that to be stationed in Jakarta was to be condemned to death by disease, while in other colonial cities long histories of renovation and architectural modification have negated the value of any archaeological research.

In contrast, Cape Town's Castle has continued in use through the years. Throughout the Dutch period of occupation, its buildings and courtyards were under continual renovation, leading to the accumulation of extensive deposits. The British, appalled by Dutch standards of hygiene, introduced sprung floors and cast iron fire places, but by-and-large left the accumulated detritus of previous occupations intact. In the early twentieth century the Castle survived arguments for its demolition but remained sidelined in Cape Town's urban modification. Protected by the paranoia of the South African Defence Force and the clubbish aspirations on the part of its commanders, cold concrete slabs replaced wooden floors and successive platoons of unwilling conscripts added their rubbish to the debris of three previous centuries. The consequence

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has been a preserved and stratified rubbish heap wrapped around the foundations and architectural details of a long and complex architectural history; Cape Town's Castle is an archaeological site of unique importance.

Despite this standing, the Castle posed a formidable challenge in the archaeological investigation of the city. Very large sites require very large financial resources for their excavation, and in this case difficulties were increased by a military authority with a hostile suspicion of any attempts to write a different sort of history. However, an opportunity for investigation began with the National Party government's decision to renovate the Castle as a fitting monument to white domination in South Africa. In seeking the best architects to carry out this commission, the then Department of Public Works employed a firm committed to the concept of historical accuracy and sympathetic to the goals of archaeological research. During the last decade of the renovation programme, archaeologists were involved at every point where foundations were exposed and archaeological deposits were targeted for disturbance or removal. As a result of strong support from the Castle's restoration architects, and the umbrella that this provided for archaeological research within a building in which military parades were still the order of the day, it has been possible to collect a significant amount of information about the full range of Cape Town's colonial history. The analysis of these

collections is still underway, and will take many years to complete. But it is already clear that the archaeology of Cape Town's Castle is central to understanding the archaeology of colonial Cape Town and the range of activities and lifestyles in this formative stage of Cape Town's heterogeneous communities. The Excavations

The best way of seeing the Castle is from the air. Flying low over Cape Town one can still see the rectangular grid plan of the Dutch East India Company city, the open space of the Parade where the first wood and earth fort was constructed in 1652, and the polygam of the Castle, alongside the original shoreline of Table Bay and impressed like a seal of authority on the map of the city. From the air it is clear that the Castle comprises more open space than buildings; two large courtyards separated by a bisecting wall and a ribbon of structures that face inwards around the Castle's five sides (Fig. 1). It is also clear that the Castle is a very substantial building, and much too large to be considered a single archaeological site, or to be excavated in a uniform and regular manner.

Perhaps fortunately, the particular nature of the archaeological opportunity at the Castle precluded the necessity of making decisions about excavation strategies. The government had no intention of funding archaeological research at the Castle and was only with reluctance persuaded that mitigation of damage by renovation was a fundamental principle of conservation architecture.

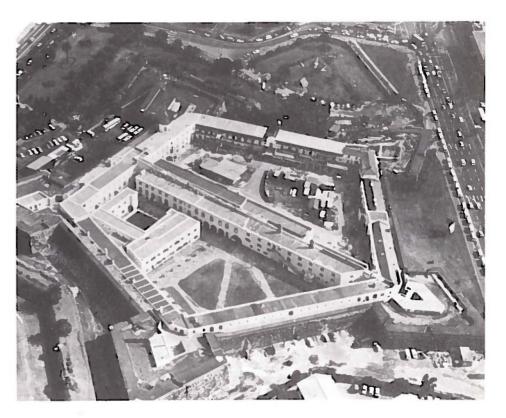


Fig. 1. The Castle from the air, early 1990s. (Photo: G. Fagan).

Consequently, the various archaeological groups that worked at the Castle were forced to operate within the framework of opportunity opened by the building plan; they were never free to choose parts of the Castle that should have been excavated in order to solve key historical problems. It was only because the architectural renovations were so extensive that a significant amount of archaeological information was recovered.

Over the years, three archaeological teams worked with the restoration architects. The Stellenbosch Museum was, most notably, able to recover the contents of a well inside the Castle

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The Archaeology of the Castle of Good Hope

walls which included a fine collection of Chinese ceramics commissioned by the Dutch East India Company and bearing the distinctive VOC monogram. Archaeologists from Cape Town's Cultural History Museum excavated the site of a large ornamental pool in the courtyard area, recovering key ceramic collections as well as other material. From 1988 onwards the Archaeology Contracts Office of the University of Cape Town worked in many parts of the Castle. In order to illustrate the nature of this archaeological evidence I will summarise the results of work in four of these areas. Together they illustrate the range of excavation techniques and

also the diversity of archaeological interpretation.

The five points of the Castle's pentagon comprise substantial bastions - a classic fortification technique in the Dutch colonial world. Originally constructed as open structures with narrow ramparts, the Dutch East India Company soon realised that this had been a practical error. After several soldiers had fallen to death or serious injury, often as a result of overindulgence in arak, the authorities decided to fill the bastions with earth, burying structures that had been built in their interior spaces and bringing in fill from inside and outside the Castle walls. The restoration programme required that one of these bastions be completely excavated so that toilet facilities could be installed. This presented archaeologists with the opportunity of recovering a substantial sample of eighteenth century material.

Given the time constraints inherent in this work, and the confirmation from documentary sources that the bastion had been filled with secondary material, it was decided that the deposits be excavated in very large, arbitrary, stratigraphic units. This allowed virtually all the deposit to be processed, but at the price of the loss of any fine stratigraphy. Trade-offs such as this were characteristic of all archaeological work carried out at the Castle, as in most projects in which there are competing demands between renovation and building programmes on the one hand, and the ideal pattern of archaeological research on the other.

These bastion excavations provided

an important collection of artefactual material, brought from areas in and around the Castle as part of this eighteenth century renovation programme. It was also possible to record architectural details of the small buildings that had been built within the shadow of the bastion early in the Castle's history, and subsequently buried in the building work; such early detailing had often been lost elsewhere in the Castle as the result of architectural modification and renovation. The filling of the bastion was the creation, albeit unconsciously, of an archaeological site by one of the earliest Dutch commanders; a time capsule that had remained untouched for many years.

As with all classic seventeenth century fortifications, Cape Town's Castle was provided with a moat, albeit one that was shallow, narrow and had more symbolic than practical value. Moats have always been places that have attracted deposition, ranging from conscious decisions to remodel parts of an earthwork with rubbish to the shortcut solutions taken by soldiers and slaves charged with removing the Castle's rubbish from its residential areas. The Castle's moat was no exception and, although large parts of it seem to have been scoured out at various times in the past, other portions were extremely rich in archaeological material.

Excavations in the Castle's moat demanded the opposite strategy to work carried out in the bastion. The main purpose in the moat excavation was to work at the finest stratigraphic detail possible in order to recover

archaeological materials in correct chronological sequence. Because a moat fill is likely to be the result of the steady accumulation of debris, rather than the consequence of a few dramatic events such as a large scale building remodelling, there are substantial rewards for close attention to stratigraphic detail. In the framework of a renovation programme such as the Castle's, trade-off decisions for a moat are different to those for a bastion; it makes more sense to sacrifice some areas of the moat in order to gain the time to excavate a representative part of the feature in as much detail as possible.

This policy yielded substantial rewards. That part of the Castle's moat that was excavated in close detail proved to have a fine stratigraphy which spanned the end of the seventeenth century and the first years of the eighteenth century. Collections of material from different parts of the Castle have been dumped on top of each other, allowing the possibility of tracing change through time - always a first goal in archaeological research. These collections included those everyday objects that usually escape notice in the documentary evidence of a period, but which provide the essential historical texture that allows us to understand the nature and diversity of life in the past. Everyday urban wares from the Castle's kitchen lay alongside fragments of fine porcelain the full range of utensils used by those as different in status as the commonest soldier and the Governor himself. There was also a substantial collection

Castle.

An added bonus from the moat excavations was a large collection of broken clay tobacco pipes. Used in large quantities and thrown away much as cigarette ends are discarded today, clay tobacco pipes have proved to be the key to establishing relative chronology in the archaeology of colonial settlement. Because the internal bore diameters of their stems have been shown to change in a regular manner, the statistical study of bore diameters from archaeological sites allows the sites to be dated relative to one another. The Castle's pipestem collections are invaluable because they come from a part of the site bracketed by dates from documentary evidence, and have

proved to be of cardinal importance in working out a relative chronology for the Dutch colony at the Cape in general. All in all, the moat excavations provide an exemplary example of the quality of detail that can be gained in painstaking archaeological excavation, and which justifies the claim that historical archaeology can provide an invaluable perspective on the past which is not available through the

study of other sources of evidence. Apart from being an administrative centre and a bulwark of defence in the early colonial occupation of the Cape, the Castle was also a place where people lived, ranging enormously in status and in the quality of their lives. Most visible, and most represented in

of animal bones, allowing the possibility of reconstructing the diet of those who lived and worked in the

the documentary sources, was the Governor and the small group of senior officers and Company administrators of high rank whose task it was to carry out the wishes of the Dutch East India Company. But the large majority, often only attracting passing references in contemporary documents and then usually when they were charged with some misdemeanour, were the soldiers and slaves who made up the garrison and work force, and who secured the Cape for colonial settlement. Two other areas excavated in the course of the Castle's renovation programme well illustrate both the archaeology of the Castle's residential areas, and the wide range of hierarchical positions occupied by people making up this microcosm of colonial life.

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The first of these buildings stood in the Castle's outer, ceremonial courtyard and would have been encountered by any visitor crossing the moat and entering through the main gate. This was a row of houses set against the central, defensive wall that dissected the Castle's interior space and were set aside for senior offices at the Castle; the captain of the forces, a senior deputy, and the visiting admiral of the Dutch East India Company fleet. After the British took occupation of the Castle in 1795 these buildings were continued in use but in modified form; at one stage the Zulu king was incarcerated here. Still later, one part of these officers' quarters was demolished and replaced by a prefabricated building. The renovation programme demanded the restoration of the demolished sector in

keeping with the period appearance of the Castle as a whole, and this offered the archaeological team the opportunity of excavation.

In contrast to the bastion and moat excavations, the substance of which was archaeological fill, the officers' quarters gave the chance of working with building foundations and smaller patches of deposit trapped within successive foundation structures. Again, such reconstruction of architectural sequences is a classic archaeological opportunity and the officers quarters were not a disappointment. As a result of the excavation it became clear that this part of the Castle's building history was far more complex than suggested by the documentary sources alone, reinforcing the view that, for much of its history, the Castle was in a continual state of modification and structural alteration.

In sites such as the Castle it is comparatively rare to have the opportunity of excavating deposits that are in primary context - in the positions where their original users had discarded material. Both the moat and the bastion had provided invaluable collections, but clearly in reworked contexts. Collections excavated from the officers quarters were much less substantial, but were particularly valuable because they were in contexts unambiguously sealed by later work on the buildings. Again, this sort of situation illustrates the invaluable role that archaeological research plays at a site such as the Castle. Without the involvement of archaeologists prior to the beginning of architectural

restoration, all such information would have been lost.

The officers' quarters collections provide an illuminating picture of the range of ceramics that were used in preparing meals in the building's kitchens and an impression of some of the sorts of food and cuts of meat that were served at the table. Officers in the Castle seem to have an enjoyed the best cuts of lamb, game birds brought in by hunters from different parts of the Castle's hinterland, and line fish caught for the most part on the False Bay side of the Cape Peninsula. Such information about the way the officers lived in the Castle is useful in itself. But it becomes particularly valuable where it can be used in systematic comparison with the ways in which other people lived within the perimeter walls. Food and material culture are vital ways in which status is mapped out on a dayby-day basis, allowing people in authority to assert their superiority, and by providing the opportunity for those condemned to subservience to contest such claims. In a slave society such as the Cape, such status markers were doubly important. Consequently, the results of archaeological excavations in the officers quarters were enhanced by the results of excavations in the other main residential area excavated at the Castle - the Grain Store immediately behind the central wall, facing the more secluded inner courtyard of the Castle. Initially, there was no evidence to

suggest that the Grain Store had been used for residential purposes at all. The documentary sources indicated

that this part of the building was used both to store the annual tithe in agricultural produce that the Company levied on the free farmers from the Liesbeeck Valley and beyond, and gunpowder and armaments used by the garrison. However, because of the by now firmly established principle of archaeological research ahead of architectural renovation, the archaeological team was asked to investigate this area prior to the renovation and reconstruction of its floor surfaces.

In the event, the Grain Store proved to have some of the richest and most interesting archaeological deposits in the Castle. Again, these were in stratigraphic sequence, demanding the closest attention to the details of the way the deposits had formed. These proved to be successive layers of occupation by people who had lived informally, often gathered around small open hearths, leaving the debris of everyday life behind them to accumulate dust and deposits until people again occupied this part of the Castle a short time later. At several points the stratigraphic sequence was further complicated by the excavation of pits through earlier deposits, then used to bury collections of animal and fish bones and broken ceramics. Because of the qualities of these archaeological deposits, it is beyond doubt that the Grain Store was a place where people lived, rather than another building site where floor surfaces had been underlain by debris from other parts of the Castle.

Who were the Grain Store's occupants? It is clear that they were

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people of lower standing - of insufficient status to justify formal living areas. They could have been members of the garrison; ordinary soldiers in the Dutch East India Company enjoyed very few privileges and had a notably poor standard of living. But it seems more likely that the people who lived in the Grain Store were slaves, working in the Castle kitchens and housed informally, as slaves so often were, in the Grain Store during those times of the year when it was not being used for its primary purpose. This probable slave identification is reinforced by the nature of the artefact and faunal collections from this part of the Castle. In contrast to the officers, the people who lived in the Grain Store ate the poorest cuts of meat - offal, and particularly sheep's heads. They ate birds, including sea birds that were probably scavenged along the shore, and substantial quantities of Atlantic shoal fish, probably filleted and dried in storage before being issued as rations. These are classic elements in a slave diet. Although the precise identification of the people who lived in the Grain Store will not be possible, and new historical research emphasises that the boundaries between slaves and ordinary soldiers in everyday life were often transgressed, it is clear that the results of archaeological excavation in this part of the Castle have added immensely to our understanding of daily life in the early years of the colony, and to our appreciation of the patterns of life of people who formed the majority of Cape Town's population, but whose voices are so

substantially silenced in the documentary evidence that has survived the passage of time.

These four areas of particular focus, along with numerous other sites within the perimeter of the Castle, have together provided a mosaic of archaeological information that spans the full colonial period of the Cape's history. The earliest traces consist of stone tools and the traces of shell middens that were left on the site of the Castle long before it was constructed; ephemeral evidence of the Stone Age communities who were the original inhabitants of southern Africa, and who were displaced by initial Dutch settlement in the years following 1652. At the other end of the spectrum were the remains of recent military occupation, including grenades and live ammunition, dating from the last years of the period in which the Castle was a dedicated military establishment. Although this archaeology has been moulded around an architectural restoration programme rather than a set of coherent research goals, the composite result has been the opening of a significant number of windows into the history of the last 300 years.

The implications of this archaeology are, of course, far wider than the perimeter of the military structure itself. The Castle interacted with a wide hinterland, and was the site from which the dispossession of many communities in southern Africa was planned and executed. At the same time, the people living in the Castle were part of the growing city of Cape Town; slaves who moved backwards

and forewords between the Castle and other places in the town, innkeepers, wheelwrights, wagon-makers, iron smiths and other craftspeople who looked after both garrison and town. and well-heeled merchants and farmers who came to the Castle in the routine rounds of their daily lives.

Today, the Castle continues to be integrally connected with the city. It has been partially vacated by the military, opening a number of public spaces which are more available to the ordinary people of Cape Town than ever before. Nevertheless, there continues to be wide debate about exactly what the Castle's resources should be used for. The results of archaeological work have been incorporated in a number of museum displays, which allow people some opportunity to gain a sense of the full history of this important site. More provocatively, the Castle has become the setting for several controversial cultural events, some designed as direct challenges to the hegemonic control which the Castle was built to maintain, and which it symbolised for many years. In a sense, such cultural events use the entire Castle as an artefact, setting up contradictions within its cold stone walls, and challenging people to rethink aspects of the Cape's history which have long been taken for granted. Future years will show the ways in which this central site will continue to play a role in the city, and the ways in which its archaeology can further be developed.

The Archaeology of the Castle of Good Hope

Acknowledgements

Many people have contributed to the archaeology of the Castle, I am particularly grateful to David Halkett for his coordination of UCT's fieldwork programme at the site over many months.

Industrial Heritage: Three Western Cape Water-mills

Sonette Bezuidenhout

Watch an old building with anxious care, guard it as best you may, and at any cost, from any influence of dilapidation. Count its stones as you would the jewels in a crown. Set watchers about, as if at the gates of a besieged city. Bind it together with iron when it loosens, stay it with timber when it declines and do this tenderly and reverently and continually and a generation will be born and pass away beneath its shadow. John Ruskin

For thousand of years, grindstones at first and, later, mills and millstones of all kinds played an important role in the daily lives of people in South Africa, but the Industrial Revolution made the mills of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries redundant. In 1880 South Africa had over 2000 mills of various kinds. Many remain, but unfortunately a large number have already been demolished and are lost.

The NMC and its predecessors have over the years attempted to protect as many mills as possible. At present a total of 17 are declared as national monuments. There are, however, many which have not been officially protected in terms of the National Monuments Act. This can be ascribed to the fact that the NMC has always been underfunded and understaffed and there has never been sufficient time or money to conduct a survey to identify and protect those that are conservation-worthy. Fortunately, South Africa's mills have been recorded extensively by James Walton, who has also published widely on this subject.

A comparison is made between three water-mills that were all designed and used for grinding wheat, namely the mill on the farm La Cotte in Franschhoek, the mill at the Elim Mission Station near Bredasdorp, and Alberts Mill in Prince Albert. The definitions restoration for and replication, as provided in the NMC's policy document, are used, although the declaration of the Elim and Alberts' mills preceded the policy document while the decision regarding the declaration of the reconstructed La Cotte mill was directly influenced by the guidelines provided in the policy.

The NMC's policy document defines restoration and replication as follows: **Restoration** means returning the existing fabric of a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by re-assembling existing components. It is based on respect for all the physical, documentary and other evidence and stops at the point where conjecture begins. It is appropriate only if there is sufficient evidence of an earlier state of the fabric and only if returning the fabric to that state recovers the cultural significance of the place. It is also appropriate where a place is incomplete as a result of damage or alteration and where it is necessary for its survival, or where it recovers the cultural significance of the place as a whole. Restoration is limited to the completion of a depleted entity and should not constitute the major part of the fabric of a place.

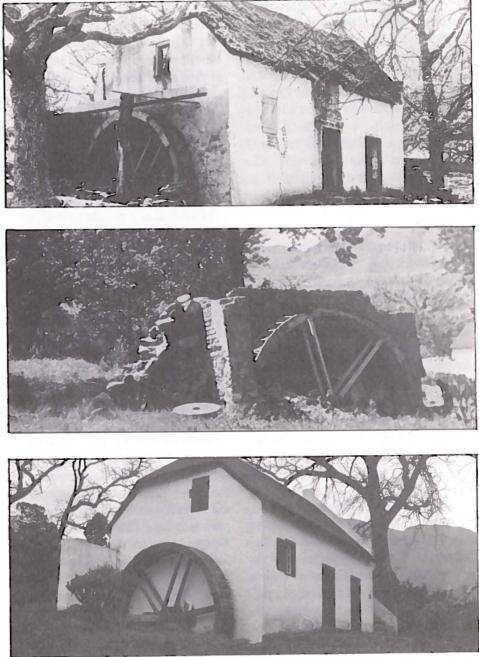
Replication is the act or process of reproducing by new construction the exact form and detail of a vanished building ... as it appeared at a specific period. It is limited to the reproduction of fabric, the form of which is known from physical and/or documentary evidence. It should be identifiable on close inspection as being new work. ... Replication is appropriate when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived. It is also appropriate for indigenous or other nonpermanent structures which it is not possible to preserve because of the nature of the construction materials, and where traditional building techniques themselves merit conservation.

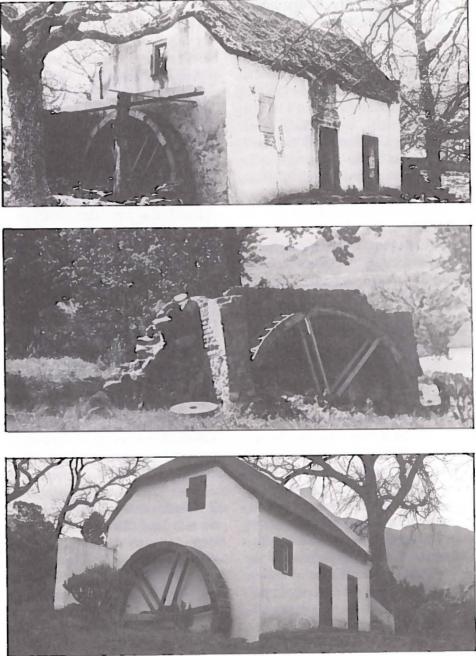
The La Cotte Mill, Franschhoek

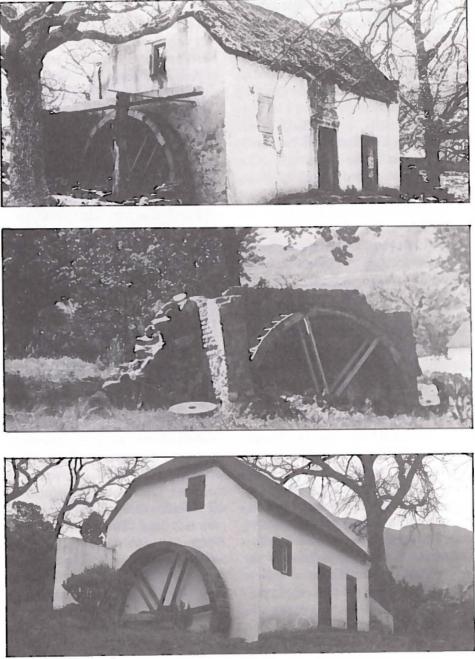
During the last century the well-

watered Franschhoek valley in the Western Cape was dotted with watermills, but only one survived at the farm La Cotte on the northern slopes overlooking the Franschhoek valley. The mill with the old homestead, surrounding wall and impressive view, is one of the best sites in Franschhoek. The farm was originally granted in 1694 to the Huguenot Jean Cardiol. Cardiol was born on 14 December 1674 at La Coste in the south of France. After the family fled France they first found a haven in Amsterdam before they proceeded on their voyage to the Cape of Good Hope. Jean Gardiol appeared on the 1690 burgher roll of Drakenstein where most French refugees were granted farms. The mill, however, is first mentioned in the 1779 inventory of the third owner, Jacobus Pieter Marais, although the farm and the mill both derived their name from the birthplace of the first owner.

Old photographs show the construction of the mill clearly (Figs 1-3). It was a thatched-roof building with a straight end gable at one side and a hipped end gable at the other. On the side with the wheel was an opening through which the hatch for the watersupply in the launder could be controlled. The launder, a wooden sluice along which the water flowed, rested above the wheel. Overshot water-wheels of this kind were introduced to the Cape in the mid 18th century. The wheel was set in motion by the weight of the water in the buckets. The mill was still intact at the beginning of the 20th century. The building was later gutted by fire and







Middle: The ruined mill before restoration. Below: The reconstructed mill. (Photo: S. Bezuidenhout)

Three Western Cape Water-mills

Fig. 1. Three stages of the La Cotte water-mill. Top: Photograph by Elliot, c. 1900.

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as a result of disuse it deteriorated steadily. All that eventually remained were the ruined mud walls and, miraculously, the wooden water-wheel.

The Franschhoek Trust, affiliated to the National Monuments Council, consists of members of the Franschhoek community, a consulting architect and a representative of the NMC. The dilemma of the ruined mill at La Cotte was discussed and in 1988 the newly founded Franschhoek Trust decided to take action. The Trust and the Franschhoek Wine Co-operative jointly undertook to raise funds and to do the necessary archaeological research to rebuild the mill. The Cooperative donated 10 cents for every bottle of La Cotte labelled wine they sold to raise funds. After selling enough bottles of wine which, if stood upright, would have stretched the full 27 kilometres from Franschhoek to the neighbouring town of Paarl, the money was available.

The National Monuments Council assisted by providing guidance and finally also approved the building plans and in 1989 the patron of the Franschhoek Trust, Dr Anton Rupert, opened the beautifully reconstructed mill. Although in terms of the policy document it was felt that it was inappropriate to declare a rebuilt structure as a national monument, this project proved to be important and valuable to the community of Franschhoek.

The rebuilding of the mill at La Cotte was the first important project of the Franschhoek Trust and after it was completed the Committee continued to actively promote the preservation and

development of that which is beautiful and historic in the Franschhoek valley. Not only is the mill preserved for the benefit of the community, but because of their involvement it has encouraged and promoted the idea of preservation and protection of their local heritage. Even though the mill is not a declared national monument, the project served the objectives of the NMC well for there is little doubt that it will in days and years to come be retained as a token of the past and serve as an inspiration for the future.

Elim Mission Station Mill. Bredasdorp

The farm Vogelstruyskraal was bought from Johannes van Schonke by the Moravian Church in 1824. Vogelstruyskraal was a quitrent farm, endowed with a good water supply, fair grazing lands and excellent potential for gardening and wheatgrowing. In addition it had a residence, outbuildings and a mill. Convinced by all these favourable factors the missionaries purchased the farm. The new settlement was given the name Elim after the oasis where the Israelites rested on their way to the promised land. The first missionary, Bonatz, arrived the same year and held his first service in the existing homestead.1

In 1928 a new water-mill was constructed to replace the existing old one which not only served the milling needs of the Elim community but also those of the neighbouring farmers with whom a good relationship was established - an arrangement which also contributed to the economic growth of the community.

The mill is a thatched building with half hipped ends and situated at the far



Fig. 2. The Elim water-mill, c. 1950.

end of the mission station. Most of its machinery has been replaced over the years and some has also been imported in 1881. James Walton stated that: "The water-mill at Elim is one of the finest examples of the millwright's craft in South Africa."² Although the Elim mill is not as old as the original one at La Cotte, it was decided to declare it as a national monument. The declaration took place on 2 August 1974. In 1989-1990 Rupert International and the NMC jointly carried the expenses of the restoration.

The project clearly fitted the principles of the NMC policy document, although the policy was only produced many years later. Most of the fabric was original and the principal of restoration was applied, in contrast to replication in the case of the La Cotte mill.

Alberts Mill, Prince Albert

The farm De Queekvalley, was granted to Zagarias de Beer in 1762 as a quitrent farm. In 1840 the Bothma brothers, the new owners, subdivided the farm into erven and in 1845 the settlement became known as Prince Albert although it only acquired municipal status in 1902. In about 1850 H J Botes replaced an existing small water-mill with a larger one and constructed a furrow to lead water from the mountain stream to the wheel. In 1865 it was taken over by N A A Alberts, from whom it passed on to his son and then to his grandson. It was run as a commercial undertaking and aptly became known as the Alberts Mill.³

From the middle of the nineteenth century the increased use of steampower and, later, electricity, for milling left the Alberts Mill as the only working water-mill out of the original five in Prince Albert, as well as the only one in the district. In December 1965 it was declared a national monument (Fig. 3). As it was no longer a commercial proposition, it eventually stopped working in 1973 after it had turned uninterruptedly for 130 years. The building soon deteriorated and in 1980 a large steel manufacturing company offered to

sponsor the restoration of the mill

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Fig. 3. The Alberts Mill at Prince Albert, c. 1970.

building and the replacement of the water-wheel. The restored mill was officially opened in 1983. Unfortunately, and in spite of its status as a declared national monument and the fact that it was an attraction for the small number of tourists that visited the town, Alberts Mill belonged at that stage to an disinterested and unsympathetic owner. Consequently it did not turn again and was not properly maintained. Requests from various sources to buy the property or to restore and maintain it on behalf of the owner were in vain. This situation left both the National Monuments Council and the community embar-

rassed, but fortunately the property is now in more sympathetic ownership.

The situation of the three mills discussed above provides an opportunity to evaluate each situation and to try and establish which factors contributed to the deterioration. Which factors provided a turning-point? Are the existing and available legal protection measures and policy guidelines effective and sufficient?

The factors which contributed towards deterioration were disuse, financial constraints and, in the case of La Cotte and Alberts mills, unsympathetic and disinterested owners. This clearly raises questions about the effectiveness of the National Monuments Act and its ability to protect declared national monuments.

The factors which provided a turning-point were community interest, tourism potential and external funding and all three benefitted the water-mills in question.

At present the National Monuments Act stipulates that demolition and structural changes to declared monuments and structures older than 50 years have to be approved by the NMC. However, the Act does not infringe on the rights of an owner and does not allow prescriptions regarding the use of a building. It does not empower the NMC to restore or maintain a building on behalf of an owner or to claim expenses from the owner, nor does it make provision for expropriation.

When the situation of Alberts Mill is compared with that at La Cotte it is ironic to note that the latter was a ruin before it was rebuilt and could in terms of the NMC policy document not be declared as a national monument, despite the fact that the original structure, first recorded in 1779, had served the community for a much longer period than either the Elim or Alberts mills and continues to serve it in its replicated state. Though much of the original fabric of the Alberts Mill was retained and though it was declared a national monument, the human factor, not controllable by the Act, not only prevented it from being utilised in a productive manner but also threatened its future existence. The powers vested in the National Monuments Council proved not to be powerful

Perhaps a combination of the above factors is necessary before a restoration and conservation effort can truly be successful. Financial means and conservation practices can provide short term solutions and are certainly music to the ears of people working in the field of conservation. However, conservation has to be desired by the community and/or owner to provide long term solutions towards the future existence of structures which are no longer required in modern society,

enough to secure its future. Instead its survival was (and still is) dependent on the attitude of the owner.

The role of the owner is also evident in the fact that none of these three mills was restored or rebuilt by its legal owner. In the case of La Cotte the community provided the necessary funds and as such has created a positive and active sympathy towards the mill. Funds for the restoration of both the Elim and Alberts' mills were provided from sources other than the local community. In all three cases the merit or motivation for its restoration/replication was the commercial benefit the community could gain from the application of the structures as tourist attractions.

It would be interesting to look back, in ten or more years from now, and to establish which of the three above situations proved to be the most successful in terms of the maintenance and future existence of each structure. and to evaluate the practicalities of the NMC policy document against this background. Will the human factor, the academic reasoning and/or the legal protection prevail?

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such as small town water-mills. People need to be empowered through education, only then would they want conservation and only then will conservation be the victor.

Notes

- 1. Le Grange, L. 1991. Moravian Mission Stations in the Western and Southern Cape - conservation study. Department of Architecture and Planning, University of Cape Town.
- Walton, J. 1974. Water-mills, 2. windmills and horse-mills of South Africa. Cape Town: Struik.
- 3. Oberholster, J.J. 1972. The historic monuments of South Africa. Cape Town: National Monuments Council.

Bethany, the House of the Poor

Herma Gous

As noted in Chapter Four, the legacy of the missionaries who came from Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to bring Christianity to the indigenous people of South Africa can still be seen in the settlements they established. Mission stations in many rural areas have retained much of their original integrity and historical character, but are increasingly in danger of being modernised or of falling into disrepair. The work of Lucien le Grange at the Moravian Mission at Clarkson¹ is one example of the way in which conservation strategies are being implemented in integrated planning in the Eastern Cape. Another example is that of Bethany in the Free State where much of the impetus for restoration has come from the community. **Historical Background**

On 24 September 1834, missionaries of the Berlin Missionary Society established a mission station for the Korana in the vicinity of the Riet River in what is today the Edenburg District of the Free State. They named the mission Bethany, "the house of the poor".

The first school chapel, "a hut of reed with four windows and an extension to the rear", was inaugurated on 27 December 1935.² The corner-

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stone of a small but sturdy dwelling was eventually completed in December 1838 after considerable effort and many problems. Gardens were laid out, fruit trees were planted and dams were built. By 1840, Bethany already had the appearance of a thriving mission institute.

During 1839, the church of reeds was partially eaten by hungry cattle. In the meantime, however, a start was made on a proper church building which would also serve as a school. The church took years to complete and was eventually inaugurated on 11 May 1845. It was a red brick building 60 x 20 ft.

As the mission work at Bethany expanded, the church became too small. By 1867 work commenced to extend it to its present form in the shape of a cross (Fig. 1). Although some 65 000 bricks had already been made, it is recorded that the building work had to be postponed because of a drought that weakened the oxen.

Nevertheless, the cornerstone was laid on 2 April 1868 and during the same year the church was completed. The building cost approximately £1,600 and was paid for entirely from voluntary contributions from members of the congregation and the precalculated rental from the mission

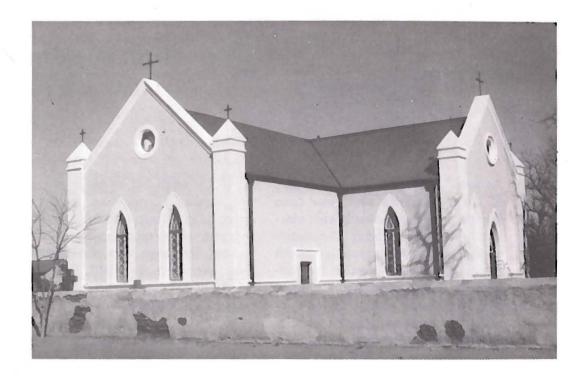


Fig. 1. The church at Bethany after restoration. (Photo: H. Gous)

station shop.

The building was designed by the German architect Richard Wocke who was also responsible for the design of the Two-tower Church in Bloemfontein. The building work was done largely by the mission station inhabitants who were at that time mainly Tswana people. Twenty to thirty men assisted on a daily basis without any payment, both making bricks and ferrying thousands of loads of soil.

The church building, which can accommodate 500 people, was at the time of its completion one of the largest churches in the Free State. The inauguration of the building on 25 September 1869 was attended by approximately 700 mission residents as well as by farmers from the district and members of the German community in Bloemfontein.

An important result of the inauguration ceremony was that the small group of Germans who attended were so thrilled to once again have the opportunity to listen to a church service in their mother tongue, that they decided to establish their own German Lutheran congregation in Bloemfontein.

The rectangular flat-roofed school next to the church was built by the men living at the mission under the supervision of L. Meyfarth at the cost of $\pounds70$. In August 1859 they started making bricks and by the end of the

year, after repeated interruptions from rain, 36 000 were completed.

Bricklayers began building during March 1860 and within in ten weeks the school was finished. The carpentry was done by Meyfarth. The building was 50 x 15 ft and consisted of two rooms. Two extra rooms were added later on the eastern side. The building was inaugurated in a festive mood in 1860.

Present Situation

Bethany played an important role in the missionary and cultural history of the Free State in the following century. However, today very little remains of the once excellent and properous mission institute. Due to the implementation of the Group Areas Act, the black inhabitants of the mission station were moved to Thaba 'Nchu in 1963 after which Bethany lost the meaning and purpose of its existence.

Today only the church, the school, the wooden bell tower between these two buildings, and the cemeteries of the missionaries and earlier inhabitants of the mission station remain as a silent reminder of the heyday of Bethany. It is one of the few tangible remnants of the extensive and successful mission work which was done in the Free State in the nineteenth century.

The fine Gothic church which is used by the local congregation of the Lutheran Evangelical Church, is still virtually in its original form. It is one of the oldest buildings in the Free State insofar as the original structure of 1845 has been incorporated into the building. It is also the only remaining bui use Co Co T reg trea stat cou con and Ir Bet lish vati

In response to this threat, the Bethany Project Committee was established in 1993 to ensure the preservation of the mission complex and create a better environment for activities at the church and school. The Committee was formed under the auspices of the Restoration Trust Fund of the National Monuments Council, the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Bethany Committee representing the original inhabitants of Bethany, and the Free State branches of the South African-German Cultural Association and the Simon van der Stel Foundation. The Bethany project committee is responsible for raising the funds necessary to restore the mission buildings and for the management of the restoration funds. Since restoration work commenced in May 1995, the roof, gutters, exterior plaster-work, doors and windows of the church building have either been replaced or repaired. The

mission church dating from the golden age of missionary work in the Free State that is still used as a church.

The school presently serves as a primary school for the children of Bethany and the neighbouring farms. It is probably the oldest school building in the Free State that is still used as a school.

Conservation of the Mission Complex

The Bethany complex can be regarded as a national cultural treasure, but is in a sadly neglected state. There is a real danger that it could be lost to the Free State if a concerted effort is not made to restore and maintain it. Herma Gous

roof and gutters of the school have also been replaced. However, funds are still needed to complete the work and to ensure that Bethany continues to play an important role in the cultural heritage of all Free Staters.

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Conservation of Properties Owned by the National Monuments Council

Desmond K. Martin

Apart from monitoring the conservation of properties in terms of the National Monuments Act, the National Monuments Council (NMC) itself owns 37 national monuments and is responsible for their maintenance and management. Most of these properties were either owned or purchased by the State in the past and were transferred to the NMC or its predecessor to ensure that they would be better conserved. They present special problems in conservation practice.

From an historical perspective, acquisition of these properties has been patchy. Fifteen were transferred into the NMC's care during the years between 1928 and 1944. For the following 18 years only one property was acquired. Then, during the 1970s and up to 1988, the State became more concerned again about the protection of historical buildings and 22 properties were transferred to the NMC.

In November 1988, following problems arising out of the maintenance and administration of properties, the Council decided in principle that ultimately it would be beneficial to dispose of its properties. A programme was thus introduced to transfer by donation or sale, selected properties to institutions or organisations which

Eersteling, Pietersburg District, **Northern Province** Eersteling is the first gold ore crushing site and power plant used in the country and is therefore important in South African mining history. This historic site was acquired in March 1933. It had no economic or market value whatsoever but was a tourist attraction as it is the site where gold ore was first crushed in 1871, long before the main reef was discovered near Johannesburg in 1886. Owing to the difficulty with arranging inspections of the site on account of the long distance from the Regional Office, as well as the vulnerability of the site without direct local supervision, Council transferred ownership

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would respect the cultural significance of the properties. Those with rental generating potential were excluded as candidates for alienation, however, as they could still benefit the Council. The process of alienation has been protracted as each property has to be treated on its own merits (or demerits). From the conservation point of view, the Council must ensure that alienation will not lead to deterioration of the property and its use is therefore always a consideration, as the following examples show.

to the Pietersburg City Council in March 1995. The NMC also undertook full restoration of the tall brick chimney. The site is now administered as part of the Pietersburg Museum. Mgungundhlovu, Kwazulu-Natal

This portion of the historic site of the kraal of the Zulu king, Dingane, was donated by the State to the NMC in 1939. In recent years, the Province established a site museum there and reconstructed hundreds of grass huts in the style of the nineteenth century Zulu builders. Following an involved land deal with the neighbouring farmer, additional land was acquired to complete the full extent of the original Zulu town. Transfer of the site to the provincial museum authorities took place late in 1995.

The Residency, Graaff-Reinet, Eastern Cape

This charming town house, built in the Cape Dutch style in 1786, was acquired by the NMC in 1980. A museum was established in the building by the Graaff-Reinet Museum Trustees who paid a minimal rent. The NMC considered that if ownership could be transferred to the museum, the future of the building would be in more dedicated hands. After the NMC had stabilised and reconstructed the impressive gables, one of which threatened to collapse, the property was donated to the museum in 1996. The Old Timber Store, Plettenberg Bay, Western Cape

The Dutch East India Company built a timber storehouse on the shores of this picturesque bay in 1787/88. The ruins of the store have been a tourist attraction since it was declared a

national monument in 1936 though its potential has not been exploited. The property was donated to the NMC in 1932. In recent years, the NMC was charged rates and taxes for the ruin and it was accordingly agreed to transfer the site to the local municipality for a sum equal to the outstanding rates. Once again, local interest and concern for an historical site was preferable to reliance on arms-length control by an authority which has limited financial and human resources.

Conclusion

The number of transfers of NMC properties has been low despite the efforts of the Council's staff. This is because approximately half of the properties have a reversionary clause in the title deed which means that the NMC, if it no longer wishes to own the site, must return it to the State at its own expense. Furthermore, no compensation is payable to the NMC for monies spent on restoration of the site. Should the NMC decide to sell the property to a third party, the full market value is payable to the State. Alienation of its properties has been and remains a tedious and frustrating process as decisions and approvals involve Regional Committees, the Council, the Minister and sometimes the Department of Public Works.

For these reasons, many properties have been let to cultural institutions, such as museums, on the understanding that for a minimal rental, the tenant will maintain the property.

This has worked well, for example at King William's Town, where the Kaffrarian Museum rents the Old

Residency for only R10 per annum. The lessee in turn meets the charges levied for rates, taxes, insurance, electricity and water, etc., as well as maintenance. Seen in the light of the NMC's mission statement, the tenant is preserving the tangible cultural heritage represented in this historical building, for the people of South Africa, on behalf of the National Monuments Council, notwithstanding the insignificant rental income.

Another success story involving a long term lease involves the Valkenberg Manor House in Observatory, Cape Town. This Cape Dutch styled farmhouse was built in the late eighteenth century. The house was extended in about 1815 with the addition of a neo-classical gable built over the entrance and became a landmark in the area.

In 1985, the property was transferred to the NMC in a dilapidated state. In fact during the subsequent restoration, the unique gable collapsed and had to be reconstructed. An unsuccessful restaurant venture in the complex terminated in 1989 and for the next four years the building complex suffered owing to the absence of a dependable tenant. Eventually after protracted negotiations with the University of Cape Town (UCT), a long lease was approved and with further approvals by the NMC, UCT sublet the property to a hotel chain. An up-market hotel was built on an adjourning site owned by the University and then sensitively linked to the historical buildings on the NMC site. The end result is a viable hotel enterprise that has ensured the current

evaluated.

usefulness and future of the historical buildings. The rental generated is scarcely reasonable but it is not the basis on which the NMC's property maintenance policy should be

There are other properties owned by the NMC where the non-availability of tenants threatens the future of the building.

One such case is an historical Congregational church in Cradock, Eastern Cape. The church building is an exact replica of the Harpenden Chapel in England. It was built in the 1850s by Robert Taylor, a missionary with the London Missionary Society. The missionary and his wife laboured for years under difficult circumstances among the indigenous peoples of the area and when they died they were buried under the pulpit of the church. The church was declared a national monument in 1982 and thereafter restored. It was let with great

optimism to a local cultural society, 'The Cradock Foundation', for the staging of cultural events. The society has unfortunately disbanded leaving the NMC with the task of finding other suitable tenants.

Unfortunately the church is situated off the tourist routes and in a subeconomic area. A supermarket was built alongside the church about ten years ago and it seems likely that the church will continue its days as a storehouse for the supermarket.

A similar situation prevails with an abandoned Masonic Lodge in Kimberley, Northern Cape. Known as the Union Masonic Temple, it was erected in 1886 by the Freemasons of the Union Lodge. As with most of the early structures on the Kimberley diamond fields, it is constructed largely of corrugated iron. In 1988 when the activities of the local lodge petered out, it was transferred to the NMC and subsequently declared a national monument.

A restrictive clause in the title deed has hampered the search for a suitable tenant as it was stated that the land "shall be used for the purpose of a Freemasonry Lodge site only ... and the property can never be sold or transferred to anyone except with the consent" of the named lodge. Legal steps are being taken to uplift the restrictive clause, otherwise the historic building runs the risk of being vandalised and stripped of its re-usable building materials.

The protection and care of NMCowned buildings is most effective in two cases where the buildings are used as offices of the Council. This guarantees on-the-spot supervision. These properties are (1) the NMC Head Office in Harrington Street, Cape Town, where the NMC has restored the 1834 granite stone residence of Cape Town's first Attorney-General and the adjoining church orphanage built in 1917; and (2) the Old Gaol in Grahamstown, where the NMC's regional office is accommodated in a part of the historical structure.

The Harrington Street building complex was transferred into the NMC's name when it was a run-down night shelter and creche for working mothers. During 1992/93 a R3 m renovation and upgrade took place and

the former glory of the attorneygeneral's residence, 'Granite Lodge,' was restored. The adjoining orphanage also houses offices and was linked to the granite building by means of a shared entrance lobby. Various maintenance schedules covering redecorating, air conditioning, security systems, etc., are in place and are reviewed regularly. There is no substitute for owning and using one's own building if the historical fabric is to be conserved as part of the heritage. The same may be said to a lesser degree of the Old Gaol in Grahamstown. The NMC only occupies three rooms in the building. The balance of the space comprises old prison cells, exercise vards, ablution blocks and crude kitchens. Although the prison does not lend itself to business premises, the building has nevertheless been sought after as a restaurant and craft market. Informal stalls in the old exercise yards and cells during the Grahamstown Festival (held over a two-week period every July) have been a great success and in previous festivals an off-beat bistro operated in one of the courtyards.

The above are some of the varied property problems encountered and equally varied solutions available to the NMC. Each property has circumstances unique to itself proving that the 1988 decision in principle by the Council to divest itself of properties was easier said than done. Furthermore alienation is also not always in the best interests of the cultural heritage encapsulated in individual buildings.

Conservation of War Graves

Jean Beater

Vandalism, poverty and the passage of time are elements that the War Graves Division of the National Monuments Council has to contend with in caring for war graves throughout South Africa, as well as in some neighbouring countries and further abroad.

The War Graves Division is vested with the task of locating, marking, maintaining and recording graves of those who perished in wars and conflicts in South Africa from 1795 until 3 August 1914. An estimated total of 65 000 graves and burial sites fall under the care of the Division, The graves and burial sites of those who died on peace-time duty in the country are also included.

Many of the graves are marked by tombstones or headstones made from a variety of materials including granite, sandstone, slate and marble. Additionally, many of the grave sites of those who perished during the South African War of 1899-1902 are marked with guild crosses. These distinctive cast-iron crosses with an inscribed central disc or roundel bear the name, regiment and date of death of the individual whose grave is marked. The crosses were erected by the Guild of Loyal Women a few years after the war, hence the name 'guild crosses'.

crosses have scrap iron r Unfortunate of these dis cemeteries. Innovative problems continue th important history and described. **Municipal** The old Middelburg is situated o outside th

The harsh weather conditions in South Africa have led to a slow deterioration of headstones, especially those made from sandstone and slate. Vandalism of cemeteries and burial sites has led to the destruction of tombstones made from marble. The marble tombstones are easy to push over and seem to be the target of those bent on sowing destruction in their wake. It is heart-breaking to see beautifully inscribed headstones and crosses destroyed by unthinking individuals.

The cast-iron crosses have also been targeted by those driven by poverty. Many of the inscribed roundels on crosses have been torn off and sold to scrap iron merchants for a few rands. Unfortunately, the wholesale removal of these discs has occurred in several cemeteries.

Innovative responses to these problems have been necessary to continue the task of conserving this important part of South Africa's history and two case studies are described.

Municipal cemetery, Middelburg

The old municipal cemetery in Middelburg in Mpumalanga Province is situated on the side of a hillock just outside the town. A garden of remembrance to those who perished during the South African War of 1899-1902 is situated close to the graves of women and children who perished in the concentration camps located at Middelburg during the same war.

The garden of remembrance contains close to 500 graves (Fig. 1), whilst the concentration camp section contains approximately 248 graves. Conservation of the gravestones in the garden of remembrance has posed a major problem for two main reasons, namely weathering of the sandstone headstones and the theft of inscribed discs from the cast-iron crosses.



Fig. 1. A general view of the Garden of Remembrance in Middelberg.

The weathering of the headstones has, in some cases, progressed to such an extent that many of the inscriptions

have become almost illegible. The solution was to put a replacement marker at the base of each badly weathered headstone. The markers are inscribed with the individual's name. rank, regiment, date of death and any other known information. Fortunately a record of those buried in the cemetery is on record at the NMC's War Graves Division so that all the information required is available.

The replacement markers are made of hard-wearing granite that is of little re-sale value. Moreover, the marker is fixed firmly in the ground making it almost impossible to push over or damage. The size and angle of the marker can be changed as required.

The possibility of replacing the stolen cast-iron roundels with similar discs was investigated, but the cost was exorbitant and they would have run the risk of being stolen again. Replacement markers were therefore placed at the foot of crosses as well as headstones (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Example of a replacement marker at the foot of a headstone.



Fig. 3. The military section of the Church Street Cemetery, Pretoria.

Church Street Cemetery, Pretoria

Vandalism of graves and headstones is a recurring problem in the Church Street Cemetery, Pretoria, which is located just off one of the busiest streets in the city and is used as a thoroughfare by the public.

Over the past three years the cemetery has suffered severe vandalism. Numerous headstones have been kicked or pushed over and the bust of the president of the Transvaal Republic, Paul Kruger, was smashed. The acts of vandalism occur at random and both military and civilian graves are targets.

The military section of the cemetery (Fig. 3) consists of rows of lowstanding concrete headstones with

the cement has worn away over the vears. The on-going repair and restoration of the military section of the cemetery is undertaken with the knowledge that vandalism will probably continue unless the Pretoria City Council takes drastic measures to tighten security

inlaid inscribed slate plaques, interspersed with cast iron crosses and marble headstones. It is the marble headstones that are most often targeted by vandals and those shaped as crosses tend to break easily when pushed over. Several of the lowstanding headstones also get pushed over because the top sections of the headstones, when originally erected, were only cemented to the bases and

and limit access to the cemetery. Practical steps to 'protect' the cemeteries will continue to be headstones for future generations are therefore required.

Where a marble cross has been pushed over, the inscribed base is repaired and set into an apron of cement to secure it. If the headstone is shaped as a cross and the cross section is damaged, it is only repaired if it is inscribed with wording or with a regimental badge. The repaired cross is then placed at an angle in cement at the foot of the grace. From past experience we have found that reerecting the crosses vertically is a waste of time and money as they are usually pushed over again during the next act of vandalism. Similarly, if the damaged cross is not inscribed, it is usually removed from the grave site as damaged headstones left in the cemetery tend to encourage further vandalism.

The low-standing headstones that have been pushed over are re-doweled onto the bases with steel pins. This provides increased support for the headstone and makes it more difficult to dislodge.

Conclusion

The conservation of war graves in South Africa, as elsewhere, has to include a hefty dose of realism. The renovation technique that may look aesthetically pleasing may not be a practical answer to theft, vandalism and climatic conditions.

The goal of war grave conservation is to preserve on-site as much of the original fabric of headstones as well as information about those who are

buried there so that visiting the meaningful for future generations.

Sol Plaatje House: A Monument to a Great South African

Colin Fortune and Leigh Deyzel

In 1992, a small house in Kimberley was declared a national monument because it had once been the home of Solomon T. Plaatje, a founder of the African National Congress. The declaration was something of a watershed for the National Monuments Council because it had previously focused attention on places with significance for European colonial history rather than on places with historical significance for the black community. The project deserves a special place in the history of conservation practice in South Africa not only for this reason, but also because of the positive contribution it has made to community education.

Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje: **Historical Background**

Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje (Fig. 1) was a South African of Baralong ancestry and was born on 9 October 1876 on the farm Doornfontein, an outpost of the Berlin Missionary Society at Pniel in the Northern Cape. The family did not stay at Doornfontein, but moved to the mission station at Pniel when missionary work ceased at the outpost.

It was here at Pniel that Plaatje spent the happiest time of his childhood. The Plaatje family played a leading

role in the community of the mission station. In 1883 or 1884, Plaatje's parents left Pniel but Solomon stayed there with his elder brother to continue his schooling. In doing so he was brought into contact with the Reverend

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Fig. 1. Solomon T. Plaatje.

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Gothilf Ernst Westphal who was to play an important role in his education.

Several languages were spoken at the mission station, including Cape Dutch, German, English, Setswana, Sesotho and various others. It was probably here that Solomon Plaatje's gift for languages was fostered. He later attended extra classes with Elizabeth Westphal that included an introduction to English literature and music. He learned to play the piano and the violin and he had voice training as well.

At the age of fourteen, it is believed that Plaatje passed Standard Three and became an assistant or pupil-teacher. According to mission records he was responsible for the children's choir.

In March 1894, he took up a post as a letter-carrier with the Kimberley post office. According to Willan the black population of Kimberley in the mid-1890s:

"earned a living by small-scale trading, or in servicing the domestic needs of the town's white population, in working for De Beers, the larger trading stores or contractors, or for the Kimberley Municipality. Amongst this very mixed group of perhaps 20 000 people was a group of Africans, consisting of probably no more that several hundred, at most 1000 people, who possessed a marketable commodity of a different kind: a missionary education."¹

By having this "marketable commodity", Plaatje was able to join the ranks of the select few.

It was during this period that Plaatje

met Isaiah Bud-M'belle, a court interpreter at the Griqualand West High Court. Through Bud-M'belle, Plaatje became involved in the social activities of Kimberley's black community. One of the organisations that Plaatje joined was the The South Africans Improvement Society which, as its name implies, was to play a role in the 'improvement' or 'progress' of black people in Kimberley. During 1896, Plaatje and a select group of blacks formed a branch of the YMCA. Plaatje had been introduced to the works of Shakespeare during his extra lessons with Elizabeth Westphal but, after attending a Shakespeare production in the Kimberley Theatre in 1896, it was to become a lifelong interest. His love for music became evident with the demand for his performances at various functions. Although not much of a sportsman, he served as Secretary of the Eccentrics Cricket Club. In 1897, Plaatje met Elizabeth Lilith M'Belle, Isaiah Bud-M'Belle's sister. The two were married in Kimberley on 25 January 1898.

Plaatje had always been interested in law and it came as no surprise when he applied for a position as a court interpreter in Mafikeng, taking up the post on 14 October 1898. Here he worked for Charles Bell, the local magistrate and Civil Commissioner, when political developments were taking place that eventually led to the siege of Mafikeng in late 1899. During the siege he, like many of the white officers, kept a diary, the first entry being made on 29 October 1899. It was a vivid account of life during the siege that affected both the black and the white population. This diary came to light many years after his death and was published only in $1973.^2$

During the siege Plaatje continued to work as an interpreter, assisting both the Boers and the British government. He was also employed by some of the war correspondents in Mafikeng at the time. No further entries were made in Plaatje's diary after the end of March 1900, probably because he was extremely busy and did not have the opportunity to write. At the time he was helping to remove the Barolong and non-Barolong Africans from besieged Mafikeng and was assisting in implementing the food rationing system for the people who had remained in Mafikeng. The siege ended in May 1900.

Realising that there was no hope for further advancement in the civil service, Plaatje made an important decision in 1902 and resigned to become a member of a select group of black pressmen in South Africa as Editor of the Koranta ea Becoana (The Bechuana Gazette) in Mafikeng. The newspaper became widely known and was distributed all over the country as well as overseas. As editor, he encouraged the progress and education of his people to make sure that 'native opinion' would play a role in the decisions made on their political future by the white authorities. Significantly, by 1904/5 the theme of segregation was gathering momentum.

Financial constraints led Plaatje to close the newspaper in 1906 (although it opened again with a new editor the following year) and in 1910 he

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became editor of another newspaper, *Tsala ea Becoana* (The Friend of the Bechuana), but that also folded after two years.

After the general election which established the new Union of South Africa government in 1910, Plaatje came to realise that black South Africans would not be given their rightful place within the political arena. The South African Native National Congress, forerunner of the African National Congress, was formed in January 1912 and Plaatje was elected as the first General Secretary of the organisation.

In 1913 the Union government introduced the Natives Land Act. Plaatje and other members of the South African Native National Congress went to England to lobby support to have the Act scrapped as it was to enforce segregation and prevent blacks from purchasing or leasing land outside the areas set aside for them. A total of 7,3% of the land in the Union was to be made available to the black population even though they outnumbered the whites several fold. While he was in England, war was declared in 1914 and he decided to stay there. He completed two books that were published in 1916³ before returning to South Africa in 1917, and later translated Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, Othello and A Comedy of Errors into Setswana.

He continued travelling, visiting England again in 1919 and Canada and the USA in 1922 where he gave a series of lectures and talks for various organisations. During one of his visits to England he made three gramaphone

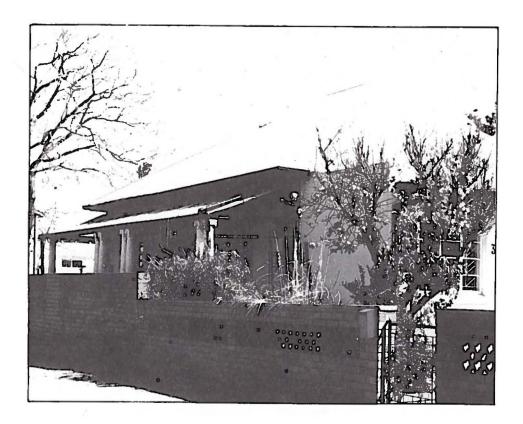


Fig. 2. Sol Plaatje House at 32 Angel Street, Kimberley.

recordings, including the first ever made of Nkosi Sikel'iAfrika in 1923. When he returned to Kimberley he found that his family had been obliged to sell their home and his wife was living in a house at 32 Angel Street, Kimberley, which belonged to Isaiah Bud-M'Belle. It is this house that was later declared a national monument.

Although he tried again to establish a newspaper, he was unsuccessful and devoted his life to the African National Congress, lobbying government for better conditions and opportunities for black people. He lived on income derived from his writings, including the book Mhudi, which he

described as "a love story after the manner of romances ... but based on historical facts",⁴ and Bantu Folk Tales - Traditional and Modern. While in Johannesburg making arrangements for the publication of the latter book, he contracted influenza and double pneu-monia and passed away on 19 June 1932.

One of the speeches made at his funeral was that of Mr G A Simpson, editor of the Diamond Fields Advertiser, who said:

> "Mr Plaatje has done a great service not only to the race from which he sprang, but to the whole community, both black and white,

for he was a link between them, and enabled each to understand something of the nature, feeling and interests of the other."5

Conservation of the House in Angel Street

On his fiftieth birthday, a committee calling itself the Plaatie Jubilee Fund was founded to explore ways of honouring Sol Plaatje. The committee felt that a fitting gift would be the house at 32 Angel Street in Kimberley which he had rented after losing his own house while campaigning overseas for the political rights of his people. In 1928 the house was given to him as "a tangible expression [for] 25 years of unsalaried service on behalf of non-Europeans⁶. The cost of purchasing and repairing the building was £425. The house remained the Plaatje family home until Elizabeth died in 1942.

In the late 1980s the house was threatened by demolition but as it was older than 50 years it was protected in terms of the National Monuments Act. Through the efforts of concerned conservationists, the Solomon Plaatje Educational Trust was established to save the building and in September 1991 the Trust took transfer of the property. The major donors were the Anglo American-De Beers Chairman's Fund and the African National Congress.

The Trust envisaged that the house be used for educational purposes to honour a man who dedicated so much of his time trying to improve the political, cultural and educational conditions of his people. Accordingly, the 'Bridge', a highly successful bridging class that was launched in

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1991 by the Christian Brothers College in Kimberley to assist predominantly black pupils in bridging the massive gulf which existed between black and white education, was able to move to Sol Plaatje's house. IBM installed computers and their "Writing to Read" programme on the premises and the Bridge was so successful that it became difficult to operate in the small building. The De Beers Mining Company came to the rescue and donated to the Sol Plaatje Trust buildings at 12 Christian Street in Kimberley which is known as the Sol Plaatje Education Centre. With the Bridge in its new accommodation, the classrooms at 32 Angel Street are now used to house the Sol Plaatje Pre-School.

The house itself is used as an office for the Trust and funds have been raised for a library of African literature. An oral history centre and a display area concentrating on the work of Sol Plaatje will be in place on an opening date planned for September 1996.

The front facade of the house, including the two front rooms and the front garden, was declared a national monument on 19 June 1992. Together with the educational activities on the premises and the impetus the threatened demolition gave to the establishment of the Trust, this is a fitting memorial to a truly great South African.

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A Memorial to Enoch Mankanyi Sontonga

Geneveve Walker

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Since 1994, South Africa has had the distinction of having a national anthem composed of two songs: Die Stem van Suid-Afrika (The Voice of South Africa) with words written by C.J. Langenhoven, and Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika (God Bless Africa) with the music and words of the first verse and chorus written by Enoch Sontonga and subsequent verses by S.E.K. Mqhayi. While Langenhoven's birth-place is well-known and has been a national monument for some years, the origins of Enoch Sontonga are humble and rather obscure.

Enoch Mankayi Sontonga (Fig. 1), from the Mpinga clan, was born in the Eastern Cape in about 1873. It is believed that he received training as a teacher at Lovedale Institution and was then sent to a Methodist Church school in Nancefield, near Johannesburg. He was also a choirmaster and a photographer. He married Diana Mgqibisa, the daughter of a prominent minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. She died in 1929, in Johannesburg.

Sontonga died at the age of 32, although published sources disagree about the year of his death with estimates ranging from 1897 to 1904.

Enoch Sontonga wrote the first verse and chorus of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika in 1897 and also composed the music. It

was first sung in public in 1899 at the ordination of Rev Boweni, a Shangaan Methodist Minister. Sontonga's choir as well as other choirs sang this hymn around Johannesburg and in Natal. The hymn made a strong impression on all audiences.

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Fig. 1. Enoch Mankayi Sontonga.

On 8 January 1912, at the first meeting of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), the forerunner of the African National Congress, it was immediately sung after the closing prayer. In 1925 the ANC officially adopted it as a closing anthem for its meetings.

The song spread beyond the borders of South Africa and has been translated and adapted into a number of other languages. It is still the national anthem of Tanzania and Zambia and has also been sung in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa for many years. In 1994 it became part of South Africa's national anthem.

Nkosi Sikekel' was first recorded on 16 October 1923 by Solomon T. Plaatje accompanied by Sylvia Colenso on the piano. The well known Xhosa poet, S.E.K. Mqhayi, wrote a further seven verses and in 1927 the Lovedale Press, in the Eastern Cape, published all the verses in pamphlet form.¹ It was included in the Presbyterian Xhosa hymn book, Ingwade Yama-culo Ase-rabe in 1929 and was also published in a newspaper, Umtetela Wa Bantu on 11 June 1927 and in a Xhosa poetry book for schools.

A Memorial to Sontonga

In 1994, the National Monuments Council became aware that Sontonga was possibly buried in the Braamfontein Cemetery which was the only cemetery in Johannesburg at the time of his death. The purpose of locating the grave was to have it declared as a national monument, which is the highest honour that can be bestowed on a site of such historic and cultural

significance.

Over the years, several unsuccessful attempts had been made to locate Sontonga's grave in Braamfontein cemetery. However, it was not until Hal Shaper of Cape Town prompted the cemetery officials to look for an entry in the burial register under Enoch, rather than Sontonga, and to look at burial records for 1905 as well as those of earlier years, that success was achieved.

The register at Braamfontein lists the date of burial of Enoch as 19 April 1905 in Plot No 4885. Confirmation that this is indeed the grave of Enoch Sontonga was subsequently found in a notice in the newspaper, Imvu Zabantsundu², which stated that Enoch Sontonga had died unexpectedly on 18 April 1905 in Johannesburg. The newspaper report also noted that he was born in Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape and that he had one son.

To establish the exact location of Plot No 4885 became a major undertaking. The search was complicated by the fact that during the early 1960s that particular section of the cemetery, comprising 10 acres, had been levelled and landscaped. Mr Alan Buff, who is in charge of the cemetery, did detailed research on the existing records that took over a year to complete. He studied the site plan for a proposed park in 1960, the burial concept plan of 1898, an area site plan of 1909, an infra-red burial plan of 1969 and the aerial photograph of 1938 and merged all the information gathered to identify the area in which the grave was located.

Identification of the grave itself was

Fig. 2. Professor Huffman's archaeological excavations clearly identified the position of graves in the Braamfontein cemetery. (Photo: T.N. Huffman)

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At the ceremony, the Order of part of a second stage in which Meritorious Service (Gold) will be Professor Tom Huffman of the Departbestowed on Enoch Sontonga postment of Archaeology at the University humously. His granddaughter, Mrs Ida of the Witwatersrand was contracted Rabotape, will receive it. The to do a shallow archaeological excaprogramme will include praise poetry vation to confirm the burial spacing and a narration that will tell some-(Fig. 2). Finally, from the interpolation thing of this man who wrote a song of all the data, a site plan was drawn almost 100 years ago that, unbeknown identifying the plot considered to be to him, would become one of peace the grave of Enoch Sontonga. and healing for the Rainbow Nation of On 24 September 1996, Heritage South Africa.

Day, the grave of Enoch Sontonga will be declared a national monument and a fitting memorial that will be erected on the site will be unveiled by President Nelson Mandela.



A Memorial to Enoch Mankanyi Sontonga

Notes

1. Jabavu, D.D.T. 1934. Introduction. In: Sontonga, E. Nkosi Sikelel'

iAfrika (The Bantu National Anthem). Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflets No. 17. Lovedale: Lovedale Press. Imvo Zabantsundu, June 27, 1905.

2. Reference found during a search for the death notice by G.M. Walker.

Urban Conservation in Graaff-Reinet

Peter Whitlock

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Graaff-Reinet, founded in 1786 by the Dutch East India Company, is the fourth oldest town of the South African colonial period and the oldest in the Eastern Cape Province. It is situated in the semi-arid Karoo in the southern interior of South Africa and is an excellent example of the way in which local authorites and private initiative can work together for the benefit of the community and their shared cultural heritage. Introduction

The origins of formal conservation in Graaff-Reinet can be traced back to the circumstances surrounding the near demolition of the former Dutch Reformed Church parsonage, Reinet House (Fig. 1), in 1947. Owing to the efforts of a number of concerned citizens, this unique example of Cape Dutch architecture built between 1806 and 1812 was not only saved, but was restored under the expert guidance of famed South African architect Norman Eaton by 1956. Despite this pioneering effort, the absence of formal urban conservation measures was to take its toll on numerous valuable buildings over the following decades. The prompt intervention of Dr Anton Rupert in the 1960s, however, saved a number of particularly significant buildings from certain demolition. The

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most important of these was the old Oefeninghuis (Dutch Reformed Mission Church) built in 1821 that is today one of the few remaining early Cape cruciform churches.

Dr Rupert realised that Graaff-Reinet had managed to retain much of its unity of character and had a stock of nineteenth century buildings unrivalled by any town of comparable age and size in the country. In addition, the surrounding expansive town commonage represented a tract of conservation-worthy Karoo mountain veld that was also threatened by development. This presented a unique opportunity to combine cultural conservation and nature conservation in an effort to conserve an historic town together with its surroundings (Fig. 2). The door was thus opened for the formulation and implementation of measures to address the safeguarding of Graaff-Reinet and its environment.

The South African Nature Foundation, backed by the vision of Dr Rupert, the Chairman at that time, in collaboration with the municipality, commissioned the University of Pretoria to undertake a comprehensive conservation study with a view to the formulation of an urban conservation policy for the town and the establishment of a nature reserve on the town

Peter Whitlock



Fig. 1. The Old Dutch Reformed Church Parsonage (Reinet House), Graaff-Reinet, completed in 1812. (Photo: Peter Whitlock)

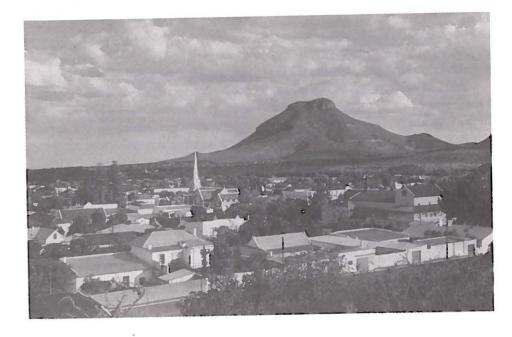


Fig. 2. View of Graaff-Reinet from Magazine Hill. (Photo: Peter Whitlock)

commonage. This study and the subsequent 'Graaff-Reinet 2000' report forms the basis of the town's urban conservation programme as implemented in 1977.

The Graaff-Reinet Heritage Society, founded in November 1975, plays an educative role through the presentation of talks by guest speakers, the organisation of excursions and the placement of articles in the press.

More recently, the Save Reinet Foundation, launched by Dr Rupert in 1981 to restore numerous derelict dwelling houses for the town's bicentennial year in 1986, played a significant role in conservation in Graaff-Reinet. The work conducted under the guidance of the Foundation not only stimulated interest in conservation amongst the inhabitants of the town, but also ensured the survival of many historical dwelling houses which could otherwise have been lost through decay.

The Conservation Programme

The legislative base of the conservation programme, as incorporated into the Town Planning



Fig. 3. Mid-nineteenth century semidetached houses in Park Street, Graaff-Reinet.

Scheme, is the Land Use Planning Ordinance, No. 15 of 1985. The provisions of the National Monuments Act are also utilised to a large extent in the management of the programme. The Zoning Scheme (Section 3.14) makes provision for the declaration of a Conservation Zone, designated as special areas which are subject to special controls to protect their architectural character (Fig. 3).

Special areas are subject to special rules which can include guidelines for:

the street elevations of buildings maintenance of buildings

- signage and advertising
- provision of on-site parking
- height restrictions
- coverage
- floor area factors
- building lines

any other aspects which the Council may deem necessary

Section 4.2.1 makes provision for the appointment by the Council of an Aesthetics Committee constituted to advise the Council on aesthetic, functional, architectural and historical aspects with respect to applications for work on existing buildings and the erection of new buildings within the designated special areas.

In terms of Section 13.14.2 of the Zoning Scheme the entire area within the horseshoe of the Sundays River, the full extent of the historical core of the town, has been declared a special area. Special rules have been promulgated to control development in this area. The objects of these rules are:

The protection of buildings deemed to be conservationworthy. The Graaff-Reinet 2000 listing of the University of Pretoria was adopted as the definition of conservation-worthy buildings. This list has, however, been superseded by the National Monuments Council's provisional list, based on a comprehensive survey conducted by the Council in 1989, which was adopted on the recommendation of the Aesthetics Committee in March 1991. Since 1996 the role of the Aesthetics Committee has been fulfilled by the Transitional Local Council's Technical Services Committee.

- To prevent the demolition of buildings and unnecessary removal of trees in the special areas.
- The control of building design with respect to new buildings and alterations to existing buildings.
- The relaxation of applicable zoning provisions by the Council if contrary to the intent of the special rules.
- To enable the Council to permit the sub-division of old dwellings should this be considered necessary to make the preservation of the buildings more viable.
- The requirement that all building work on sites in the special areas within 15 m of the street boundary is to comply with the requirements of the special rules.

Management Procedures

Considerable discretion is used in the identification of building applications from within the conservation area which will be The most recent study conducted by subjected to the conservation

provisions. The reason is that while the official conservation area is the entire horseshoe, it is in no way architecturally uniform or of consistent historical and architectural merit. Consequently, the special rules are not relevant in all cases. In practice, all applications in respect of listed buildings or applications for new work in the vicinity of a listed building are referred to the Technical Services Committee. Applications from certain identified streets also enjoy more careful scrutiny in deciding whether referral to the Technical Services Committee is necessary.

The locally administered conservation programme is backed to a very large extent by the provisions of the National Monuments Act and in particular the 50-year clause. Relevant applications are forwarded to the NMC for approval by the Eastern Cape Plans Committee.

The NMC is in addition directly responsible for the consideration of applications relating to declared national monuments. There are 184 house facades and 17 entire houses declared in accordance with the group declarations of 1983 and 1987 and a further 19 buildings declared independently at various times.

Important Issues for the Future

Graaff-Reinet has been fortunate in having had the benefit of numerous conservation related studies over the past 15 years which has presented it with the opportunity to amend its conservation programme to conform with the latest conservation thinking. the School of Architecture and

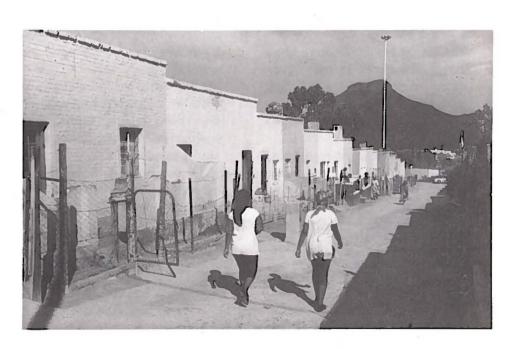


Fig. 4. The fine streetscape presented by the so-called 'Royal Block' in Umasizakhe, Graaff-Reinet.

Planning of the University of Cape Town in 1989 has been largely instrumental in drawing the attention of the local authority and conservationists alike to the significant shortcomings of the town's conservation programme.

The local authority apparently views the amendment of the conservation programme and its incorporation in the proposed Structure Plan very seriously. Graaff-Reinet is now facing new urban conservation challenges with the advent of the democratisation of local government.

Appropriate conservation measures will have to be formulated for the protection of the architectural character of other worthy areas which are currently afforded little protection. An area particularly deserving of attention

is the old black residential area, Umasizakhe (Fig. 4), which dates back to the second half of the nineteenth century. It is hoped that a headlong rush to upgrade this run-down area will not take place at the expense of the fine human qualities of the urban spaces of the hillside village.

Why Should We Conserve Graaff-**Reinet?**

What makes Graaff-Reinet special? Any development or conservation programme should take the following into account.

> Graaff-Reinet has a unique natural setting and relationship with the adjacent mountains and encircling river.

> Graaff-Reinet is the only town in the country that is surrounded by

a nature reserve.

- The Karoo Nature Reserve plays a significant role in the conservation of threatened Karoo and mountain habitats.
- The reserve is home to approximately 340 plant species, 43 mammal species, 39 reptile and amphibian species, 4 fish species, 200 bird species and an unrecorded number of invertebrates.
- Graaff-Reinet (old town) is probably the most intact nineteenth century town in the country with a complex urban environment of rare integrity and coherence.
- Graaff-Reinet has a greater stock of buildings spanning a period of nearly 200 years than any town of comparable size and age in the country.
- The town has numerous buildings and precincts of national significance.
- The close physical relationship and juxtaposition of Graaff-Reinet - a town planned on the basis of strict geometry - and Umasizakhe - a town developed organically on the basis of underlying social patterns - is unique.
- The hillside area and the generally older parts of Umasizakhe have spatial qualities and uniformity of scale and architectural character which should be reinforced.
- Umasizakhe has examples of vernacular architecture which are conservation-worthy in their own right.
- Umasizakhe represents a major conservation and restoration

opportunity which can be undertaken as a skills training and job creation programme. If such a project were to be undertaken with the necessary sensitivity to the existing qualities, Umasizakhe could rival the old town as a tourist attraction.

In short, few places in South Africa possess such an inspirational and close marriage between the natural and cultural environment. The character of the town and its interaction with its setting has an almost instant appeal to visitors.

This priceless inheritance of Graaff-Reinet, which earned the title of Gem of the Desert as early as 1858, will only survive if we, as temporary custodians, exercise our responsibilities to future generations by conserving and reinforcing that which is good in the town and striving for excellence in the creation of new buildings and environments, the heritage of the future.

Conservation in the Urban Environment: Conservation Areas in Cape Town

Stephen S Townsend

Introduction

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Increasing public concern about the city's historical environment in the late 1970s¹ led to the first official steps in 1979 to control development in historical parts of Cape Town through a new town planning regulation. However, official conservatism regarding the perceived interference with property rights resulted in a decade-long debate between municipal and regional planning officials over the wording of the proposed regulation. This labyrinthine and marathon argument was finally concluded in 1990, and six areas (five of them surrounding central city squares) and the historical core of Wynberg village were proclaimed as 'urban conservation areas.²

Subsequently, several additional areas in the municipality have also been so designated. These include two areas in the Upper Table Valley immediately adjacent to the historical central city in 1992³, Long Street in the central city, also in 1992⁴, and three areas in the suburbs of Green Point and Sea Point in 1994.⁵ Also, in late 1994, the municipality approved the designation of twenty-nine new urban conservation areas which is, at the time of writing,⁶ still being

considered by the regional planning authority. These areas include central city, inner city and suburban areas. It bears mentioning that all the proposals to designate urban conservation areas have been preceded by surveys aimed at identifying buildings, sites, landscapes and areas of architectural and/or historical interest so as to provide a properly informed basis for conservation-related planning and development control.⁷ It is also worth pointing out that in South Africa there are no conservation-orientated loans. grants or fiscal benefits as there are in most European countries.

two cases demonstrate the range of environmental and social circumstances faced in urban conservation in South Africa, though the pressures in central city conser-vation areas where more permissive zoning rights exist are not present in these two largely residential areas. The Upper Table Valley Urban **Conservation Area**

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The designation of two very different urban conservation areas and their management is described below. These

The Table Valley is the bowl-shaped area below Table Mountain surrounding the early colonial settlement established in 1652. This valley was



Fig. 1. Typical late Victorian terrace in an Upper Table Valley townscape.

soon occupied by numerous market gardens, but during the nineteenth century it was gradually cut up and developed as a largely residential suburb. It has a rich mix of Georgian villas, Victorian and Edwardian villas (Fig. 1) and terraced row houses, some small apartment buildings and houses built in the twenties and thirties, and a well-treed urban landscape with fine parks, punctuated by handsome schools and hotels.

Although property values declined during the 1950s and 1960s consistent with post-war preferences for new, more spacious suburbs, the increase in car ownership and the development of an effective metropolitan motorway system, the area remained largely white and became increasingly lowermiddle class. During the 1980s and 1990s, however, following the increasing cost of private vehicle use, ever-increasing traffic congestion and less efficient public transport, the area has become more fashionable and property values have soared.

This continuous colonial occupation and gradual development is manifest in a visually rich historical urban environment, though during the 1960s and 1970s some neighbourhoods were spoiled by over-scaled apartment buildings and arterial roads. Notwithstanding such environmental damage, local planning studies initiated in the early 1980s identified environmental and heritage resource management as important planning policy.

Consequently, in 1988 the municipality proposed to designate two urban conservation areas in the Upper Table

Valley. In early 1989 approximately 2200 property owners were advised by registered post and pamphlets explaining the proposal were delivered to each property. One hundred and eleven responded in writing, the overwhelming majority of whom were enthusiastically in favour. Also, approximately one hundred telephone enquiries were received. There were eight written objections which argued that the rights of the property owner were being eroded, or that individual buildings rather than entire precincts should be protected.8 Subsequently the two areas were formally designated as conservation areas in early 1992 by the regional planning authority.9

The effect of this designation is that all building work (including all but very minor internal alterations) must be scrutinised and if necessary negotiated by a specialist team in the municipal planning department. This has proceeded relatively smoothly, though periodically conflict over the scale or proportions of proposed works between the applicant and planning department has arisen. Less frequently, adjoining property owners have objected to proposals. In cases of conflict, the National Monuments Council¹⁰ is usually drawn into the negotiations and in certain cases has required that the application be referred to it. Conflict is, however, infrequent primarily because the ideas underpinning the controls explicitly acknowledge that the city is in a continual process of growth and regeneration and that the primary conservation-oriented goals are to preserve only the most

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significant buildings and ensure that new development either respects or contributes positively and creatively to the existing character of the environs. Interestingly, during 1995 one hundred and eighty building plans were approved in the Upper Table Valley urban conservation area, that is approximately 8% of the properties in the area were improved in one year! This obviously reflects the largely middleclass occupancy, improving property values and a relative ease in raising finance.

One of the pillars of the municipality's conservation programme has been to encourage local residents' and ratepayers' associations to form conservation committees to give a neighbourhood input into these management processes. In this particular environment the local ratepayers' association has on occasion engaged

in debate regarding conservationrelated aspects of certain developments, but it has not made a consistent effort to influence conservation or heritage management.

The Bokaap Urban

Conservation Area

The Bokaap is the largest concentration of pre-1840 architecture to be found anywhere in South Africa; and even in its current partly gap-toothed, dilapidated, partly over-restored and reconstructed state, it presents a picture of a late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Cape colonial townscape that cannot be equalled. It bears remembering that outside of Cape Town there were only half a dozen colonial hamlets in all South Africa at the time the Bokaap was

Stephen S. Townsend



Fig. 2. Typical view of a Bokaap townscape in the mid-1970s with a Mosque turret in the distance. (Photo: Lesley Freedman Townsend)

constructed.

The Bokaap or Moslem Quarter of Cape Town immediately abuts the central city and is a natural extension of the old colonial city (Fig. 2). The first city block of what was to become Bokaap (meaning 'above the Cape' or 'upper Cape Town') was built in 1767 and consisted of sixteen small singlestoried terraced-row houses for rent. Research to date suggests that the initial impetus for development was speculative as the city expanded in response to competition between the great powers for the control of trade routes. This new section of the city developed in the same grid pattern, but with considerably smaller dwellings than had previously been the norm. Even from the first few

decades, it is probable that a relatively high percentage of residents were Moslem (the first mosque in the city, indeed in the country, was built here in 1811) and after the emancipation of slaves in 1834, this percentage increased sharply. By the turn of the century probably at least 50% of the residents were Moslem and there were eleven mosques and several Moslem schools.

The Cape Moslems, descendants of political exiles and slaves, were, however, an underclass and economic hardship and exclusion from the establishment (white) economic system compounded by an Islamic injunction against borrowing - led to the gradual dilapidation of the quarter this century. Consequently, in the late 1930s the municipality expropriated approximately 250 properties as part of a 'slum clearance' programme. This programme was interrupted by the Second World War and towards the end of the war a group of prominent (white) Capetonians launched a campaign to preserve the historical buildings and environs as the centre of the 'Malay' (apartheid-speak for Moslem) way of life at the Cape.

This campaign held the 'slum clearance' programme in check and in 1951 a block containing seventeen houses was restored with State funds. The rest of the historic quarter, however, continued to deteriorate and commerce and light industry encroached more and more into the area. The municipality ignored public and State calls for further restoration and gradually more buildings were demolished.

In 1966, however, five and a half city blocks, including the seventeen restored houses, were declared a national monument and the municipality was required to restore the sixty-odd dwellings. This project was completed in 1976, largely with State funds.¹¹ During this project, in the mid-1970s the municipality's position vis-à-vis the quarter changed and a wider rehabilitation and reconstruction programme was proposed. Subsequently, in 1985 and 1986 approximately seventy new houses were constructed in the style of the area on vacant sites where buildings had been demolished.

It is a great irony that the conservation of the Bokaap (and of its community), which has been threatened for decades by the 'slum clearance'

During the 1980s the occupants of the dwellings expropriated in the late 1930s increasingly clamoured to buy back these properties. This was agreed to for several reasons: the municipality and the State needed to recover at least some of the money spent on restoration and reconstruction; it had recently embarked on a project to create a Black middle-class by assisting the purchase of housing; and the municipality's 'slum clearance' project had effectively been realised. When the municipality proposed to declare the Bokaap an urban conservation area and attempted to negotiate this proposal with the community, however, the community resisted. The

decades of expropriations, the effects of apartheid and the country-wide resistance to all forms of (white) government, made negotiations extremely difficult.¹² In mid-1986 all property owners and residents (723 properties) in the proposed conservation area were addressed by registered mail. Community reaction was to call a public meeting attended by approximately 100 people who ambigiously rejected the proposal to declare an urban conservation area, but supported the concept of conservation.¹³ During the next few years numerous meetings between municipal officials and

programme of the politically liberal municipality, was ultimately effected by the State which insisted on the preservation of the buildings and declared the Bokaap a 'Coloured' area in 1953 in terms of apartheid legislation.

When the municipality proposed to declare the Bokaap an urban conservation area and attempted to negotiate this proposal with the community, however, the community resisted. The bitterness and suspicion caused by decades of expropriations, the effects of apartheid and the country-wide resistance to all forms of (white) government, made negotiations extremely difficult.¹² community representatives were held to discuss conservation and other planning matters, but the national political climate has continued to bedevil negotiations.

Notwithstanding the inconclusive status of the greater part of the Bokaap, five and a half blocks are a national monument and the development of all buildings over fifty years old can be controlled by the National Monuments Council. Because the Cape Town municipality has a specialist conservation team, much of the NMC's responsibilities are carried out by the municipality.¹⁴ It also bears mentioning that all properties expropriated by the municipality in the 1930s and sold back to 'people with roots in the area' in the late 1980s and early 1990s were sold with a title deed condition obliging them to build in keeping with the character of the area. As a result, the Bokaap is in effect administered as a conservation area, and all building work in the Bokaap is scrutinised and, if necessary, negotiated by the municipality's specialist conservation team. This has been the case since 1986.15 Conflict with property owners is, however, more frequent than has been described above in the Upper Table Valley conservation area. The political tensions mean that property owners are less inclined to accept guidance or to accede to the controls. Accordingly, unauthorised building works are carried out relatively frequently and, on one or two occasions, ill-advised works have been permitted after acrimonious debate.

Today, the Bokaap is rather better

off financially than even two or three decades ago and most occupants own their homes, but it is still difficult to raise or service loans. This relative financial stringency means that only 3% of the properties in the area (compared with 8% in the Upper Table Valley) were improved in 1995. However, the first national elections of 1994 and the recent local elections have established a democracy in South Africa and it is reasonable to hope that the Bokaap will soon be formally declared a conservation area.

It is clear from this brief account that architectural and urban conservation has been politically charged and extremely controversial in the Bokaap. **Conclusion**

Conservation-orientated controls have often been controversial in South Africa, particularly in cases where the property owners have been, or perceive themselves to be, excluded from the process of designating the areas and managing development. Management of the environment is a process of government and is politically charged when the occupant or users of the environment in question are an under-class or disempowered, even though there may be obvious benefits to themselves, the environment or to the local economy.¹⁶

Notes

1. These concerns are reflected in the growing interest and awareness of conservation manifest in, for example, the production of the catalogue of *The Buildings of Central Cape Town* (1978) by the Cape Provincial Institute of Architects, the National Monuments Council and the

Cape Town City Council, the anxiety regarding Church Square provoked by the fire damage to the old Civil Service Club in 1979, and the promulgation, also in 1979, of a town planning regulation protecting the character of the historical centre of the nearby small town of Stellenbosch.

- 2. Provincial Gazette No. 4649, 29 June 1990.
- 3. Provincial Gazette No. 4737, 28 February 1992.
- 4. Provincial Gazette No. 4781, 24 December 1992.
- 5. Provincial Gazette No. 4899, 9 December 1994.
- 6. August 1996.
- 7. For a detailed discussion of all these surveys, see Townsend, S.S. 1996. A three-grade classification system of conservation-worthiness for Cape Town. Architecture SA (in press).
- 8. City Planner's report 81/1991 of 1991-06-21 addressed to the Town Planning Committee.
- 9. See endnote 3.
- 10. The National Monuments Council is the statutory body responsible for heritage resource protection in South Africa.
- This history is described in detail in Townsend, L. and Townsend, S. 1977. Bokaap - Faces and Facades. Cape Town: Howard Timmins,
- 12. See the City Planner's reports 68/1986 and 162/1986, dated 1986-4-20 and 1986-10-30 respectively, which discuss these difficulties.
- 13. See article 'Bokaap doesn't want to be special' in the Cape Times, 16 October 1986.
- 14. Townsend, S.S. 1990. Conservationrelated control in South Africa. In: Japha, D. and Japha, V. (eds) Proceedings of the National Urban Conservation Symposium. Johannesburg.

Conservation Areas in Cape Town

- 15. A 1986 amendment to the National Monuments Act of 1969 gave the NMC control over all alterations to buildings more than fifty years old.
- Note also the difficulties faced by the 16. Kenyan and Tanzanian governments in managing the Swahili towns of Lamu, Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam referred to by: Wittenberg, J. 1995. Urban conservation on the East African coast. Paper presented at the All Africa Conference, Cape Town, April 1995; Marks, R. 1995. Zanzibar stone town and the politics of conservation. Paper presented at the All Africa Conference, Cape Town, April 1995; Abungu, G.H.O. 1996. Heritage, community and the State in the 1990s: experiences from Africa. Paper presented at the Future of the Past Conference, Cape Town, July 1996.

Robben Island: A Case Study in Contemporary Conservation Practice

Laura Robinson

Introduction

Robben Island, situated at the entrance to Table Bay and Cape Town harbour, must certainly rate as one of South Africa's most prominent sites of historical, cultural and social significance. Once viewed as an overwhelming symbol of oppression and hardship, this place of banishment has been transformed by recent history into a symbol of hope, peace and reconciliation for the emerging population of a newly born South African society. The recent declaration of the Island as a national monument, on 10 May 1996 in Government Gazette No 17187, has turned some aspects of heritage conservation about-face in line with the new aspirations of the people of the country.

As a symbol of the way forward to an inclusive acceptance of a joint heritage by all South Africans, and indeed by the world at large, it is hoped that Robben Island will be the first World Heritage Site to be designated in South Africa - a fitting tribute to the ability of the country and her people to triumph over adversity against overwhelming odds, achieve a truly democratic society based upon an acceptance of the past and a desire to move forward to redress past wrongs and the horrors of an apartheid society.

Unimaginable a mere ten years ago, the declaration of the Island as a national monument has awakened a spirit of new-found acceptance through all levels of society of the injustices of the recent and not so recent past and an acknowledgment of the place as a crucible for the development of the present and future leaders of our country.

To many South Africans Robben island is a symbol of peace and reconciliation and future plans for the Island should be firmly based on these universal concepts. For this reason alone conservationists regard the Island as a unique international heritage resource to be preserved for the benefit of all.

History of the Island: Pre-1652 to 1991¹

Although the Island's most recent and powerful associations rest with the prison activities there, in particular the infamous political wing housed in B section, which housed amongst others, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Achmed Kathrada, and now incidentally open to visitors and a place of curiosity and pilgrimage to both local and international visitors, there have been a variety of activities and occupants, both voluntary and involuntary, that have occurred during the past four hundred years of known occupation.

Prior to the Dutch settlement of the Cape in 1652, the Island was visited by various early travellers, with an unsubstantiated visit by Bartholomew Dias as early as 1488. During the Dutch occupation of 1652-1795 the Island was used primarily as a resource relating to defence, farming and the supply of building materials.² Slaves and criminals were banished to the Island and used under appalling conditions as a source of labour in the newly established stone quarries.

Some of the first 'political' prisoners of the day were sent to Robben Island as early as 1658, when 'Harry'³, one of the local Khoikhoi leaders was sent there, only to escape and later be restored to favour. The Dutch colonists used the Cape as a favourite dumping ground for political dissidents from the East Indies and other prisoners of interest at the time included a Prince from the island of Macassar in the East Indies, the first of many such people of the Moslem faith who were detained there.

The British first took occupation of the Cape for a brief period between 1795 and 1802, and after an interregnum of six years under Batavian rule the second British occupation lasted from 1806 to 1846. The concept of the Island as a prison continued during this time and a new prison settlement was established at the south-eastern section of the Island. The profile of the prisoners held at the time included English military

personnel under court marshall, political prisoners and common criminals. The slate quarries continued to be worked and a whaling station was established by John Murray. The Island was also used as a quarantine station for epidemics such as measles and smallpox which were prevalent at the time.

During this period some of the most notable prisoners included several Xhosa chieftains who were sent to the Island as punishment for the uprisings occurring along the frontier during this time. Most famous of these was probably Nxele or Makhanda, a Xhosa warrior and prophet, who was banished to the Island for his role in leading the Ndlambe Xhosa against the British at Grahamstown in 1818.

In 1846 the General Infirmary was established on the Island and in 1848 the penal settlement was abolished as a result of a commission of enquiry. For almost a century⁴ the Island served as a place of refuge for 'lunatics', 'lepers' and the chronically ill poor (Fig. 1). After the closure of the leper hospital in 1931 and its conversion to a maximum security prison in 1960, the Island played an important role in the modern military history of the country. In 1936 the Island was declared a military reserve by the then Minister of Defence, Oswald Pirow. It was during this time that the gun emplacements and fortifications were installed.⁵

The Island as a Centre of Resistance In 1960 the South African Prisons Service, (now the Department of Correctional Services), took over the Island from the Department of



Fig. 1. The former female lunatic asylum on Robben Island, built c. 1860.

Defence. The early sixties saw a rapid reinforces the symbolic value of the increase in legislation designed to place for many South Africans. The suppress opposition to the policy of survival and personal growth of the apartheid and all violent protest. In political prisoners, arising from their doing this a new phenomenon was demands to be treated as human created - the political prisoner, vast beings, afforded the opportunity for numbers of them. Large numbers of both academic and political education, these prisoners were sent to do time shaping not only the history of the on Robben Island, particularly in the prison itself but also playing a major aftermath of the Rivonia trial, in role in the shaping of the national which Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, history. Govan Mbeki, Achmed Kathrada, With the release of Nelson Mandela Andrews Mlangeni and Elias Motsoaand other political prisoners and the ledi as well as others were sentenced announced closure of the prison to imprisonment there.

This most famous period in the history of the Island reinforces its history as a site of repression and also as a site of resistance, an aspect which

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facility⁶ there have been various highly publicised and inappropriate proposals for the future use of the Island, mostly coming from the commercial sector and involving major

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business interests such as hotel and casino ventures.

The Island as a Symbol

The concept of the Island as a symbol for South Africans has been briefly touched upon in the introduction to this chapter. Although in purely historical terms it warrants recognition as a national symbol or monument, it is the unspoken symbolism that makes it truly unique in the South African experience. The mystique surrounding the Island has grown due to its isolation and the deliberate lack of dissemination of information offered by the authorities in the past.

Traditionally the Island has been perceived as a place of banishment, purgatory - the unwanted of society sent away from public view, be they the insane, the sick, the leper, the criminal or perceived criminal. Both through the experiences of those who have recorded their experiences it has become a symbol of "the indestructibility of the spirit of resistance against colonialism, injustice and oppression."⁷ In separating the leaders of the day from their followers, the authorities have perpetuated the role of the Island as a place of confinement and banishment and reinforced the concept of it being a place to which the 'misfits' of society were relegated.

It is this symbolism then, particularly when translated into the modern context, that has made Robben Island a place worthy of consideration as a heritage resource of the highest calibre. It is this quality which sets it apart as a unique cultural asset requiring exceptional management at a time when cultural heritage is

undergoing extensive re-examination nationally.

Physical Constraints

To understand the problems surrounding the conservation of Robben Island it is necessary to briefly investigate the environmental issues that play a major role in the assessment of any future proposals and heritage management program for the Island.



Fig. 2. The limestone quarry on Robben Island. Started in the seventeenth century, this is where the political prisoners of the twentieth century were sent to do hard labour.

The Island itself, situated in Table Bay, north of central Cape Town, is relatively small, being approximately 5300 sq km (574 ha). It is low-lying, with horizontal layers of Malmesbury shale (Tygerberg formation), with a surface layer of limestone and calcrete (Fig. 2) deposit. Granite intrusions supply the slate quarries with the stone already mentioned earlier. Water has always proved to be one of the major problems for users of the Island. Underground 'brak' water drawn from well points is used for services and irrigation (and was distributed to the prison), however all fresh water must be brought over from the mainland.⁸

Investigations into the possibility of a pipeline from the mainland have been made; it is understood that this option would not be feasible due to the extremely inclement weather (regular breakages would occur), but primarily the cost is estimated to run into millions of rands and is therefore not economic.

Extensive studies of the flora and fauna of Robben Island have been undertaken by the Chief Directorate of Nature Conservation of the Cape Provincial Administration (Cape Nature Conservation). These studies indicate that the indigenous plant and animal life has been greatly modified by the past 400 years of human occupation. The indigenous plants are mostly of the Strandveld type, common on the West Coast of South Africa; most of the existing vegetation now comprises alien species, mainly rooikrans, manitoka and eucalyptus. As some of the plantations form important nesting places for the colonies of sea birds, it is proposed that a programme of selective removal in certain areas be implemented. This programme has been initiated by Cape Nature Conservation personnel and is continuing in an ad hoc manner at present.9

The Island has long been a home for sea animals and birds, and is an important refuge used as a breeding colony by penguins, pelicans and duikers, as well as Cape seals. Exotic animals such as rabbits and sheep were introduced in the colonial period,

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mainly as a source of food, and at present a small but thriving population of buck exists on the Island, brought in during the 1960s. The bird and animal population numbers are constantly monitored by Cape Nature Conservation and there have been proposals that portions of the Island be declared a Nature Reserve.¹⁰

Services and Infrastructure

The physical constraints of the Island have played a major role in maintaining a limited permanent population there. A small power station was built in the past few years, (on the site of an early Dutch East India Company outpost) and an ageing but workable desalinisation plant presently operates. Sewage is managed by the septic tank system and other waste is either incinerated on the Island or taken by boat to the mainland.

Communications to and from the Island are provided by four passenger ferries and a cargo boat, the Blaauwberg. An airstrip situated in the centre of the island is now unusable and helicopters provide emergency transport if necessary. There is an existing road infrastructure, mostly made of compacted limestone, which requires maintenance on a regular basis. Telecommunications operate on a microwave system connected to the mainland and the official ports and harbours authority, Portnet, have their own communications system and operative lighthouse on the south of the island.

Past Conservation Management of Robben Island: NMC Involvement The National Monuments Council has had a particular interest in the Island since the early 1960s, when concern was expressed about the future of the Anglican Church, the Church of the Good Shepherd.¹¹ After various unsatisfactory negotiations the issue was left dormant until 1973 when application was made to the authorities to inspect the buildings on the Island with a view to the declaration of individual national monuments. This was refused and the matter was again laid to rest until the late 1970s when it was announced that the Department of Defence would take over the Island. Again very little of consequence beyond a sympathetic hearing of the case for conservation was received.

In 1985 the National Monuments Council received a directive from a Working Group established by an ad hoc cabinet committee and comprising the departments of Justice, Defence and Environment and Tourism. The brief of the Working Group was to:

- undertake an investigation into the historical and cultural heritage of the Island;
- identify structures or sites which Island.¹³ should be conserved; and,
- give advice on the restoration of and sites.

The NMC report entitled Robben Island: An annotated survey of buildings and sites of architectural, historical and contextual importance, dated 1986, was submitted to the Working Group along with conservation recommendations including one recommending that the Island be declared a national monument in its

entirety.

This suggestion was not received sympathetically as the controlling. department remained that of the S A Prison Services and it was deemed undesirable and unnecessary to have it declared until such time as the user department changed. The Working Group continued with its recommendations and in 1988 it included the following statement in one of its reports:¹²

> That factors regarding the cultural historical interest area as stipulated in the NMC's comprehensive report on Robben Island be taken into account as a rule and where applicable.

The NMC then took a policy decision that in order to follow up the proposed declaration of the Island as a national monument, an in-depth study of the island, together with an updated survey of all the sites, structures and buildings should be undertaken. This was done with the co-operation of the Prisons Department and Cape Nature Conservation, and resulted in the 1993 Conservation Study of Robben

As an interim measure two 'uncontroversial' buildings on the conservation-worthy structures Island were declared national monuments in 1993, being the old Residency and the Old Parsonage (Fig. 3).14

> The survey and accompanying recommendations were submitted to an inter-departmental committee, (comprising the Departments of Public Works, Correctional Services, National Education and Cape Nature Conservation), for comment and possible



Fig. 3. View of the Old Parsonage of the Dutch Reformed Church on Robben Island, built c. 1895, with Table Mountain and the city of Cape Town in the background.

recommendations to Cabinet. Unfortunately these recommendations were not taken any further as the Department of Public Works did not support the recommendation that the Island be declared a national monument. At the same time a comprehensive survey of the historical shipwrecks surrounding the coast of Robben Island was undertaken with the co-operation of the South African Navy.15

The findings of both surveys led to a revised recommendation by the National Monuments Council that the entire Island together with one sea mile surrounding it be declared a national monument, and that by-laws be promulgated in terms of section 18 of the National Monuments Act.¹⁶ After further negotiations and

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discussions approval was obtained for the declaration of the Island and the notice was carried in Government Gazette Number 17187, number 804, dated 10 May 1996. The description of the notice reads as follows:

- 1. The Island known as Robben Island, with all the structures thereon, being Farm 436, Cape Road, Robben Island, in extent 475,8409 hectares. Deed of transfer T19276/1994, dated 22 March 1994.
- 2. An area of 1 (one) nautical mile, measured from the low tide elevation, as defined in section 1 of the Maritime Zones Act, 1994 (Act No 15 of 1994), surrounding Robben Island. Signed by B S Ngubane, Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.

The by-laws accompanying the declaration have been drafted and are at present being circulated to the various parties involved in debating the future of the Island. Of a fairly general nature, their primary objective is that of the protection, maintenance and enhancement of the cultural, architectural, aesthetic and historical significance of Robben Island. In order that these objectives be achieved it is stated that a permit must be issued by the National Monuments Council for a variety of activities relating to demolitions, alterations to structures, removal of vegetation, change of use of either land or buildings and archaeological investigations and removal of artefacts.

It is hoped that approval will be granted for these by-laws within the next few months - the process of circulation to all relevant parties being somewhat slower than anticipated. Once consent has been obtained, the by-laws will be approved by the Minister and published in the Government Gazette.

The next step in terms of formal conservation recognition, and surely the ultimate accolade, will be that of obtaining World Heritage Site status for Robben Island. Earlier this year Dr Bernd von Droste was hosted as a visitor on the Island, as well as at other potential world heritage sites, and positive feedback has been received in this regard. Once the Unesco protocol has been formalised at Cabinet level an official application will be made to Unesco.17

Management of the Island, Existing **Facilities and Future Options**

Robben Island is owned by the State and as such will remain a national asset. Any future user would have the opportunity of signing an agreement with the State subject to various restrictions and financial guarantees.

The management of a resource such as Robben Island must surely rate as one of the most complex heritage issues presently under consideration. Not only is the Island perceived as a national resource by the nation as a whole, and therefore to be treated with the broadest possible circumspection and public consultation, but enormous practical problems exist that require attention to ensure the on-going viability and preservation of the assets, both physical and natural, that the Island has to offer.

Robben Island has for many years been under the control of the Department of Correctional Services that is responsible for the prison system in South Africa. It has consequently been managed by this department with assistance from the Department of Public Works, the State department responsible for all State owned property and the maintenance and upkeep thereof.

With the closure of the prison at the end of 1996 and the removal of all Correctional Services personnel by early 1997 - and the subsequent loss of funding allocated from central coffers to them that amounts to an estimated R20 million per annum - the question arises: Who will assume the enormous financial burden of running the Island?

A Presidential Committee tasked with investigating the future of Robben Island was established in 1995. Under the chairmanship of Achmed Kathrada, himself an ex political prisoner from the Island, tenders have been invited for the future long-term use and management of the Island. In the past there have been many and varied representations in the media as to the possibility of establishing a Grand Casino on the Island, or turning it into some kind of exceptional theme park accessed by helicopter and hovercraft! No doubt a number of the submissions to the Committee will be along these lines. However, it is expected that the end users will have proposals more sensitive to the past circumstances of the Island and to its symbolism as a place of peace and reconciliation.

These submissions are still awaited and will require detailed investigation by the Kathrada Committee as well as a number of qualified experts in the fields of heritage, environmental issues and education. The problem of the interim management of the Island will need to be addressed as a matter of considerable urgency. In financial terms alone millions are required to ensure the maintenance of the service infrastructure in place there, to say nothing of the running costs of the ferries that offer virtually the only means of access to the Island for the usual visitor. It is understood, but not confirmed, that the Department of Public Works has undertaken to financially maintain the infrastructure of the Island as well as continue with the maintenance of the various buil-

Current Conservation and Management Problems The major threat posed to the integrity of Robben Island is perhaps surprisingly not the potential future users, one or all of whom will have been through a thorough scrutiny process, both publically and by the official bodies, but the enormous publicity surrounding the Island in recent times. With the relaxation of controls by the Department of Correctional Services and the increasing number of visitors on a daily basis, it is becoming increasing difficult to control. In particular, there is a problem with the removal of items from the Island. The interim Committee managing the withdrawal of the Department of Correctional Services¹⁸ from Robben Island has agreed that no major changes should take place on the Island until such time as clarity as to the future use has been obtained. This implies that, apart from necessary maintenance to the infrastructure and buildings, no other major work should be initiated. It has also proved difficult

dings and structures as in the past. This can only be seen as an interim solution, however, and the new user or users will have to prepare a detailed budget proposal for their installations on the Island, taking into account not only the services but also transport and additional facilities should these be necessary. It is also understood that the existing ferry system will have to be purchased from the Department of Correctional Services, which should add considerably to the financial burden of the new incumbents.

to persuade the authorities not to 'beautify' or smarten up portions of the facilities for the visitors, in particular the prison itself, which it has been agreed should remain as a realistic document recording the past. It is hoped that the particular quality that the Island has had up until now will not be lost by sanitisation and the concept of developing the potential of the facilities should be kept in line with the existing structures and services.

Another difficulty presently experienced, particularly by the Department of Correctional Services, is the widespread media involvement with requests by film and video companies to use the Island as a location. Again careful control of the activities is required to avoid inadvertent damage to the facilities.

The control and policing of the one sea mile maritime reserve around the Island is also proving to be extremely problematic for the authorities at present. There is a lack of small fast patrol boats to monitor the activities of poachers and divers without permits. With the increasing public interest in the Island, and the relative proximity of yacht clubs and small boat harbours, many boats transgress the restricted area and approach the shores of the Island itself. The Royal Cape Yacht Club has an arrangement whereby their members may use a small portion of the Murray's Bay harbour for mooring purposes but this is also proving to be unsatisfactory to the authorities at present. A steady increase in the removal of small artefacts as mementoes by visitors is

contributing to an increasing loss of valuable cultural material from the Island.

The Way Forward

The issues surrounding the conservation and preservation of Robben Island as a national and international heritage resource are proving challenging at every level. As a national symbol Robben Island epitomises the desire to achieve reconciliation and peace in South Africa. The challenge that faces not only the conservation bodies but other organisations with a stake in the future of this wonderful resource will be to develop and preserve those qualities that make the Island experience unique and meaningful.

Indications are that Robben Island will develop in a manner sympathetic to the lessons recently learnt there and that opportunities for educational experiences, a museum component, conference facilities and environmental aspects will be focused upon. A Museum of Resistance is planned by the Mayibuye Centre¹⁹ to be situated on the breakwater at the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront and this, together with the retention of the original embarkation offices - the scene of so much heartbreak in the past as prisoners left for their sentences on the Island - will serve as part of a larger 'package' aimed at the education of visitors of all kinds. The Island and its accompanying satellites has the potential to be a world class heritage site offering invaluable insights into the process of transformation as experienced by one of the world's most observed and emerging nations.

Notes

- 1. For more detailed information regarding the history of Robben Island, see Deacon, H. (ed.) 1996. The Island. A history of Robben Island 1488-1990. Cape Town: David Philip and Mayibuye Books.
- 2. The slate quarry situated on the southern shores of the Island was used extensively during this period, supplying blue slate for building purposes in such areas as the Castle of Good Hope.
- 3. Autshumato, known as 'Harry', was 11 a Khoikhoi inhabitant of the Cape who acted as translator between the Khoikhoi and the Dutch.
- Between 1846 and 1931, Robben 4. Island housed a hospital for these unfortunates. In the 1890s the more curable and less dangerous patients were removed to institutions on the mainland and only lepers and black lunatics remained on the Island.
- 5. Still well maintained, it is understood that the artillery is in working order and could be commissioned within 72 hours! It has been proposed that these Second World War defences form part of a 'military tourism route' to be establised throughout the 13. Cape Peninsula.
- The Department of Correctional 6. Services announced the formal 14. closure of the prison scheduled for the end of 1996. It is understood that 15. all Correctional Services personnel and facilities will be off the Island by early 1997.
- 7. Lubbe, G. 1987. Robben Island: the early years of Muslim resistance. Kronos 12:49.
- 8. This occurs daily. The supply ship Blaauwberg is used for this purpose - the ship also brings all other necessary supplies such as produce, equipment, fuel, etc.

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- Concern has been voiced that the 9. Island will be denuded of much of the vegetation if this programme is continued.
- 10. The National Parks Board has recently indicated an interest in including Robben Island as part of the new National Park to be declared that will encompass the Table Mountain chain. It is understood that representation to the Kathrada Committee has been made in this direction.
 - Also known officially as the Church of the Good Shepherd, or the 'leper' church, as it was set aside for use by the unfortunate sufferers of that disease during their confinement there. This property is the only one on the Island not owned by the State.
- 12. Report dated 23 April 1988 compiled in terms of the following: "To enquire into and make recommendations with regard to the most feasible and practical way of facilitating greater accessibility to Robben Island, subject to a thorough control system and within reasonable limits."
 - Compiled by Patricia Riley, Professional Officer, NMC Western Cape Region.
 - Government Gazette No. 14997, Notice No. 1327.
 - Survey named 'Operation Sea Eagle'. See Werz, B. and Deacon, J. 1992. A Final Report on a Survey of Shipwrecks around Robben Island. Cape Town: National Monuments Council.
- The National Monuments Act (No. 28 of 1969) which empowers the Council, with the approval of the Minister (of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology), to make by-laws regulating inter alia, use, conditions

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of admission, removal of artefacts, damage or destruction of structures or alterations to such structures.

- 17. Another factor delaying consideration of the Island as a World Heritage Site may well be the lack of an integrated management plan for the Island. This will obviously be held up until the future end user(s) have been decided upon, following which a management structure involving all stakeholders, both governmental as well as private, will be established.
- 18. Under the chairmanship of Achmed Kathrada, the Committee comprises representatives for the Department of Public Works, the National Monuments Council, the Department of Correctional Services, the Mayibuye Centre, Cape Nature Conservation and the Department of Sea Fisheries.
- 19. The Mayibuye Centre, based at the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town, houses an outstanding range of material relating to the struggle against apartheid. An archive of photographs, tapes, interviews, documents and artefacts has been built up and much of the information upon which research on the recent history of Robben Island is based is obtained from this source.

Strategies for Change in Heritage Management in the New South Africa

Lesley Freedman Townsend

Introduction

Four years ago the National Monuments Council placed a press release in community newspapers and journals throughout South Africa offering the "Conservation Surveying Kit" booklets and forms - to be used for identifying our cultural heritage. The interest from teachers, community groupings, schoolchildren and nongovernmental organisations (NGO's) all over the country was overwhelming and indicated clearly that people want to play a part in the conservation of their cultural environment.

Now, during South Africa's transformation process, we have the opportunity to explore a communitygrounded heritage management process. Training and education for involvement in, and collaboration between, heritage and planning agencies and communities must be part of an integrated approach to promoting the well-being of communities and their environment and identifying and commemorating their heritage. During the transformation process local agencies have to ensure that shared objectives are identified and achieved and not lost in the meaningless pursuit of administrative reform.¹ The massive cultural change

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

required, and the degree of complexity involved in a multicultural society such as South Africa leave simple actions of system redesign inadequate. Heritage management leadership needs to devise ways to identify and reflect the total cultural and symbolic heritage and values of all South Africans. The central principle for the transformation process of heritage management is capacity building.²

Given the process that is taking place in negotiating new heritage management legislation, the awareness that is being raised about the need to build partnerships and involve civil society, and given the new people who are involved in, directing, or advising cultural policy, we are on the road to a real participative cultural management system.

Although we, in heritage agencies, have for a long time been aware of the imbalance reflected in our cultural conservation programme, we have also been conscious that it is not enough to simply start declaring as monuments the sites of cultural importance which have been neglected until now. In order to rid cultural conservation of the old assumptions the only option is to democratise the process and evaluate the basis on which heritage criteria are assessed.

What I outline in this Chapter is a strategy for networking within communities, heritage and planning agencies, schools and non-governmental and community-based organisations to share and participate in this task.

Community Grounded Conservation

The essence of conservation work is the creation of an environment in which communities feel they belong, from which they draw a sense of identity. The presence of elements and the identity of an area, which for the inhabitants are imbued with particular significance and give meaning to their lives, satisfies a fundamental, primal need for continuity and familiarity.³

The African Cultural Heritage Trust noted in its submission to the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG):

> The conservation of cultural heritage is not merely a return to the customs of the past. It embodies the attitude of people to the future of their traditional values faced with the demands of modern technology. Its objective is not to ossify or mystify, but to ensure harmony with contemporary realities and the demands of change and development and to prevent a mindless sweeping away of our cultural heritage, a situation which can only result in disorderly change and societal instability and eventual creation of a people completely cut off from its cultural roots.4

The involvement of people in the exercise of identification is the first step in the process, and as knowledge

and skills are developed so communities become aware of the special meaning of the places in which they live, work and play. Through educational material, exhibitions, workshops and interpretive displays and other material we will send the message out that understanding our country, our culture and our society will lead us into greater sensitivity towards our environment and to each other.

Living heritage feeds into the identification process. It is living traditions, customs, beliefs, rituals and oral histories that carry valuable information from the past.⁵ The rediscovery of our living heritage by our community identifies our place within society. This knowledge empowers communities. By situating ourselves within a cultural context we restore our identity. It has been well documented that the loss of identity leads to the erosion of cultural self esteem and alienation. We have to work together in South Africa to rebuild our identity.

The archival record serves as a valuable source of information, education, cultural identity and community development.⁶ It introduces the community to information about how we lived in the past. We need to recognise within this archival record the reality that we all contributed to our country's rich heritage. Those of us working in cultural institutions have to provide the forum wherein these discoveries are made.

Given the resources, communities can do their own surveys and nominate places that they consider of local, regional or national conservationworthiness. When sites are identified in this way, the people who identified them know their value and therefore have a stake in looking after them and getting involved in their management. We need to ensure that our guiding principles are co-operation, mutual support and democratic practices and the participation of the community in all aspects of the system.

For conservation to be effective the comprehensive inventory is established in consultation with the community and, when properly administered, will mean that owners, developers, planners, architects and responsible authorities will be aware of the special qualities of the environment before they invest time and money in developments which may alter or damage vital parts of the cultural fabric of a community.

The map is the essential inventory **Conservation Surveying** tool - it is the map that represents the place.⁷ Date screens are compiled from information on reliable historical maps in the archives or museum. They are then checked in the field to see whether the sites are still intact or the buildings are still standing. They provide the most important products of a conservation study. They are produced by mapping sites, buildings, symbolic landscapes, and other elements considered to be significant in certain categories; mapping landscape features; mapping streets that have The inventory is compiled by conservation surveying. A survey retained the historical grain of their involves consulting archival material development; mapping buildings and to understand the history of the place, sites by dating; mapping sites and providing a comprehensive description areas that are considered for promulgation as conservation areas; mapping of sites in an area, noting aspects like places that are considered for the their context, age, condition and significance. Once these properties have national register or as national been identified and marked on maps, monuments; and mapping areas of it is possible to decide on suitable development pressure and zoning. action for protection. Evaluation

The NMC's Conservation Surveying In doing the survey, the community will identify which properties or areas Kit is a method of surveying that has are significant, whether they are been designed for people who have associated with an historic person or never done a survey before. It explains step by step how to do a survey and event, or a religious, social, economic or political activity, if it is important how to find the necessary information, providing people with the skills to to archaeology, palaeontology, rock art, geology or architecture, or if it is learn about their history and environment and how to determine what is a landmark in the town, and so on.

culturally valuable to their own community.

Cultural Mapping

The map on which information relating to the existence of cultural sites is plotted is part of a two-pronged approach to the management of cultural resources. The other is the data base.

The evaluation of their cultural significance and meaning tells us why and how we need to protect or enhance these cultural sites.

Protection

The final stage in the process is taking suitable action for protection. The evaluation provides the basis for appropriate and reasoned decisions about protection, which are decided jointly by the local or regional authority and the community.

Data Bases as Management Tools

The compilation of a data base in all the fields of conservation with which the heritage agency is concerned, including identified rock art sites, archaeology, palaeontology, shipwrecks, the national register, declared conservation areas and declared national monuments, is fundamental to negotiating management plans for these cultural resources.

The National Monuments Council is developing a number of data bases, as described in Chapter Five. These computerised data bases provide for the capture of different categories of information which are needed for the management of conservation in an easily retrievable form.

Methods are designed so that the survey data accumulated can be directly related to the conservation policy instruments that are available. Education and Surveying

The NMC must ensure that local and provincial authorities are in a position to collaboratively survey and compile a register of cultural property within their areas of jurisdiction and thereafter deal effectively with conservation. This will require of us a dedicated period of education and training and the production of educational and training material, in order for planning authorities to gain background knowledge and understanding of the value of, and management issues in, conservation.

Heritage Awareness Campaigns

Those involved in the development of conservation should also be involved in the campaign to develop public awareness of the importance of the cultural environment in our lives. We need to develop a programme which includes the publishing of pamphlets, articles and posters explaining the value in conservation, together with programmes to introduce conservation awareness to schools, technikons, universities, NGOs, the adult community, as well as the authorities who will be managing it.

In order to develop a communication strategy to effectively explain the significance of cultural conservation, and contribute to a popular understanding of the heritage message among all communities, a linked print and radio campaign is developed to publicise the programme and elicit feedback. Short publications outlining the key issues involved in understanding conservation of the heritage as well as reduced and variously simplified versions of the NMC's Conservation Surveying Kit will be launched. In this way public debate is opened up, and follow up materials and strategies to communicate with committed groups that have emerged during the process, can be developed.⁸ This process was successful when the heritage society organised talks,

excursions and articles in the press to raise consciousness about conservation in the largely intact old South African town, Graaff-Reinet. This is described in Chapter Nineteen by Peter Whitlock.

Language and Communication Policy

The principles guiding the development of an NMC communication policy should reflect the linguistic realities 'on the ground', such as the fact that 48% of all South Africans know no English or Afrikaans.⁹ Over two-thirds of our people, however, speak either an Nguni or a Sotho language as a first language.¹⁰ In addition it is estimated that 1.6 million South Africans use Sign Language as a first language.¹¹ Most South Africans use two, three or more languages. This makes the recognition of the many different languages so important.

An NMC communication policy should also reflect the values of the new Constitution. These include promoting human dignity, promoting national unity, entrenching democracy (which includes the protection of human rights), promoting multilingualism, and promoting respect for and tolerance towards linguistic and cultural diversity. In the constitution the State commits itself to taking "practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of [the indigenous] languages"¹² In addition, the newly created Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) "must promote and create conditions for the development and use of (i) all official languages; (ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and (iii) sign

language.^{*13} The PanSALB must also "promote and ensure respect for" what have recently been called Heritage Languages.¹⁴

All this means that we can no longer rely simply on English and Afrikaans for our official communication, as in the past. Our communication policy should provide accessible information in all the eleven official languages and sign language in order to reach all communities. While this may be expensive at first, the empowerment of South Africa's people outweighs the financial cost. So as to avoid unnecessary expenditure, the NMC policy could usefully follow the language policies adopted by the various provinces, which reflect the (regional) distribution of the official languages in the country.

In so doing we recognise that language is a resource, not a problem. All our languages, including Heritage languages in oral and written form provide a rich source of data on social and cultural practices, both past and present. Respect for Heritage languages will assist especially smaller language groups in maintaining their cultural heritage, and help us access oral history (e.g. of the San people) as well as documents of the past (e.g. those in Dutch).¹⁵ Respect for religious and other Heritage languages should also extend to the place of worship, cultural centres, museums, historical landmarks, cemeteries, cultural festivals, ceremonies and dress codes.¹⁶ Should information on Heritage languages become available on a centralised database.¹⁷ ways should be found for the NMC to

access and contribute to it.¹⁸

Teaching Resources about Heritage In the chapter on new legislation we recognised that education plays a large role in heritage resources conservation with respect to the reconstruction of South Africa and that the contribution of heritage resources to the development of a national identity should be promoted.

Acknowledging the vital role that heritage education can play in renegotiating the borders of cultural practice, we have set in motion a programme to introduce heritage education into the school curriculum. With an Education Consultant, we have developed a framework to network and collaborate with museums, teacher training colleges, teachers, community organisations and a publisher to develop an effective school education project. The resource materials will include a teachers' pack with curriculum-linked classroom activities. The history and environmental education syllabi provide appropriate vehicles for the inclusion of heritage education in school curricula.

We will develop an in-service teacher education programme to facilitate the reclamation of a collective history in the quest for a future common national heritage. We will also adapt the Conservation Surveying Kit to provide the tools that will promote skills for the collection of history by schoolchildren while they are identifying culturally significant property in their communities and learning about the role of the national heritage body. The project is a materials development initiative, which involves and supports teachers in their task of presenting history and heritage in primary schools and teacher training colleges, and will be relevant to South Africa for many years. It aims to provide teachers with a source of active learning ideas and will help to train schoolchildren in the process of collecting information related to personal and community histories and heritage.

The interactive model of learning, involving dialogue, encounter and reflection within a framework of action and experience, involving pupils in classroom based activities, will be used.

The project entitled 'MY hiSTORY', is designed to meet a need for previously neglected heritage education through affordable, relevant and appropriate resource materials which will redress a currently skewed and biased history curriculum. It is based on the assumption that pride in and knowledge of our national and local heritage can make a major contribution to mutual respect and peace, nation-building and national identity. Heritage education is largely ignored and does not feature in our present education system, yet it affects our lives on a daily basis.

The booklets will be trialled and workshopped at schools and teachers' centres by the education consultant and then redeveloped in consultation with heritage specialists and a publisher.¹⁹

The project is in line with the Reconstruction and Development

Programme's mandate which is to: develop a programme which will provide access to all and draw on the experience of young and old in all communities to give creative expression to the diversity of our heritage and the promise of the future.²⁰

The Fifty Year Clause: Turning the Process Around

The introduction in Chapter 1 outlines the work that the national heritage resources agency presently carries out. In its current form the NMC expends a large amount of its human resources on the application of section 12(2A)(f) of the National Monuments Act, the section known as the "fifty year clause" or the "historical sites clause". In terms of the legislation, the NMC is responsible for the protection of these sites. The problem is that there are numerous sites that fall into this very broad category and in each of the NMC's regions, plans committees meet regularly and scrutinise applications to destroy or alter historical buildings, sites and other protected property. Our regional staff members therefore spend much of their time in meetings and processing the permit applications. This section of the Act has led to some of the important parts of our cultural environment being saved from alteration or destruction but it diverts the resources of the NMC from the really important work. The work that leads to systematic identification, mapping and cataloguing and a coordinated and integrated heritage management system.

Integrated Environmental Management

The cornerstone of an integrated conservation programme is the survey and publishing of documentation: an inventory and maps of conservationworthy cultural property, with the power to protect them delegated to local authority level and included in physical planning ordinances. These authorities need to understand that conservation does not stand in the way of progress, but encourages the sensitive use and adaptation of the heritage so that future growth is linked to the past. We need to strive for better connection of past, present and future to overcome the tendency of seeing the past as something that is finished with, and now has simply nostalgic, academic or entertainment value.²¹ A published and well publicised inventory and map of conservation-worthy property will ensure that conflict between development and cultural conservation is minimised. This works in Britain, for example, where the historical environment is protected by planning controls and is fully integrated with national and local planning. Our new Act will provide for this as among its founding principles are that the Act should establish the framework for an integrated resources conservation system throughout South Africa and that resources should be made available for the training and education of heritage workers.

Conclusion

I have outlined ways in which we, at the NMC, are working towards engaging the community in a dynamic

interchange with heritage agencies, communities and the authorities who will, ideally, be managing the cultural resources during the period of transformation. In promoting the Conservation Surveying Kit the recruitment of those members of the community who have the desire to work in the identification, mapping and evaluation and management process is the area in which dedicated work has to be done.

South Africa does not have a culture of involvement and sharing at a bureaucratic level, but there are numerous non-governmental organisations who have been engaging with communities and have evolved strategies for building capacity. Networking 3. will provide us with the numerous examples in which communities have demonstrated what can be done if resources and opportunities are provided. While being aware of many examples, my association with Development Action Group (DAG) has demonstrated that joint ventures with local authorities and communities have allowed both parties to share decisions, maximise resources and skills and produce sustainable working partnerships with ongoing support and the collaborative development of training resources, all in the context of people-driven processes.

South Africans have achieved political transformation. Social transformation is an ongoing struggle. South Africa has been described as a country searching for its soul and it is possible that the reevaluation of our communal identity will assist us. The redistribution of resources and giving communities control over their destiny

will give real effect to change on the ground. This is the real challenge of reconstruction and development, and the fulcrum on which the South African genesis will stand or fall.²²

Notes

- 1. Australia Council for the Arts. 1994. Better places, richer communities. Sydney: Local Government, Integrated Planning and Cultural Development.
- 2. Galla, A. 1996. Shifting the paradigm. A plan to diversity heritage practice in South Africa. Cape Town: Discussion document for the South African Museums Association.
- Townsend, L.F. 1992. Press release for the NMC's Conservation Surveying Kit.
- Submission to the Arts and Culture 4. Task Group (ACTAG), June 1995. 5. Ibid.
- 6. Ibid.
- 7. Japha, D. 1990. Unpublished report presented at the Conservation Surveying Workshop, National Monuments Council, Cape Town.
- 8. Development Action Group (DAG). 1994. Communicating the Metropolitan Development Framework. Cape Town.
- 9. Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. 1996. One Law for One Nation. Adopted by the Constitutional Assembly, 8 May 1996. Pretoria: Government Printer. 10. The Nguni languages comprise isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele and siSwati and are largely mutually intelligible. SePedi, SeSotho and SeTswana make up the Sotho group of languages which are also mutually intelligible. This fact of mutual intelligibility has led scholars such

as Nhlapo in the 1940s and Alexander (Alexander, N. 1989. Language policy and national unity in South Africa/Azania. Cape Town: Buchu Books) to propose the 21. harmonisation of the two language clusters into one written standard Nguni and one written Sotho variety.

- 11. Bua! 1 December 1995, p. 10.
- 12. South Africa's New Language Policy. n.d. Pretoria: Department of National Education.

13. Ibid.

- 14. Report of the Language Plan Task Group, in press. Chapter 7. Heritage languages include African Heritage languages of the indigenous (e.g. Nama) and non-indigenous (e.g. Shona from Zimbabwe) variety; Asian heritage languages (e.g. Malay, Gujerati); European heritage languages (e.g. Italian); and Religious heritage languages (e.g. Hebrew, Sanskrit). Sign Language (SL) and Augmentative and Alternative Communication (AAC, i.e. for people who have no means to express themselves through speech, even though they are not primarily hearing-impaired or deaf) are also dealt with in the report.
- 15. Ibid.
- 16. Ibid.
- 17. Ibid. as recommended in the Chapter on Heritage Languages.
- 18. I am grateful to Peter Plüddemann of the Project for the Development of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA) at the University of Cape Town for his large contribution to this section on Language and Communication Policy.
- 19. Sinclair, P.J. and Townsend, L. Freedman. 1996. Proposal for the National Monuments Council's Heritage Education Programme.

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- 20. African National Congress. 1994. The Reconstruction and Development Programme: a Policy Framework. Johannesburg.
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- 22. Development Action Group. 1996. Annual Report. Cape Town.

List of Contributors

- *Ms Jean Beater*, Head: War Graves Division, National Monuments Council, P O Box 7888, Pretoria, 0001, South Africa.
- Mrs Sonette Bezuidenhcut, Head: Proclamations Division, National Monuments Council, P O Box 4637, Cape Town, 8000, South Africa.
- *Mr Geoffrey Blundell*, Rock Art Research Unit, Department of Archaeology, University of the Witwaterstand, Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050, South Africa.
- Mrs Ingrid Coetzee, Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Private Bag X2, Roggebaai, 8012, South Africa.
- Dr Janette Deacon, Archaeologist, National Monuments Council, P O Box 4637, Cape Town, 8000, South Africa.

Ms Leigh Deyzel, Senior Administrative Assistant, National Monuments Council, P O Box 1930, Kimberley, 8300, South Africa.

- Dr Gabriël Fagan and Dr. Gwen Fagan, Architects, 156 Bree St, Cape Town, 8001, South Africa.
- *Mr Colin Fortune*, Assistant Director: Operations, National Monuments Council, P O Box 4637, Cape Town, 8000, South Africa.
- *Ms Herma Gous*, Regional Manager: Free State/North-West, National Monuments Council, P O Box 9743, Bloemfontein, 9300, South Africa.
- *Mr John Gribble*, Maritime Archaeologist, National Monuments Council, P O Box 4637, Cape Town, 8000, South Africa.
- *Professor Martin Hall*, Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch, 7700, South Africa.
- Mr George Hofmeyr, Director, National Monuments Council, P O Box 4637, Cape Town, 8000, South Africa.
- Mr Desmond K Martin, Assistant Director: Administration, National Monuments Council, P O Box 4637, Cape Town, 8000, South Africa.
- *Ms Alicia Monis*, Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Private Bag X2, Roggebaai, 8012, South Africa.
- *Ms Juanita Pastor*, Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Private Bag X2, Roggebaai, 8012, South Africa.
- *Ms Penny Pistorius*, Urban Conservation and Planning, 9 Victoria Walk, Woodstock, Cape Town, 7925, South Africa.

Ms Laura Robinson, Regional Manager: Western Cape, National Monuments Council, P O Box 4637, Cape Town, 8000, South Africa.

Ms Lesley Freedman, Townsend, Architect, Professional Services Division, National Monuments Council, P O Box 4637, Cape Town, 8000, South Africa.

Mr Stephen S Townsend, Assistant Director, Building Survey, Cape Town City Planners Department, P O Box 1694, Cape Town, 8000, South Africa.

Ms Geneveve Walker, Council Secretary, National Monuments Council, P O Box 4637, Cape Town, 8000, South Africa.

Mr Peter Whitlock, Architect, PO Box 88, Graaff Reinet, 6280, South Africa.